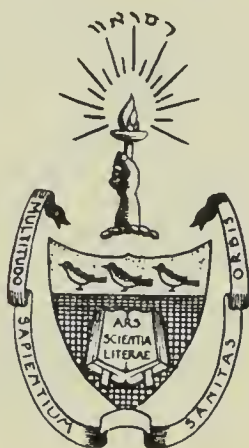


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Great English Churchmen Series

EDITED BY SIDNEY DARK

ARCHBISHOP LAUD



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BY

A. S. DUNCAN-JONES

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TO

WILLIAM HOLDEN HUTTON

DOCTOR IN DIVINITY, DEAN OF WINCHESTER,
WHO HAS PLACED EVERY STUDENT OF WILLIAM
LAUD IN HIS DEBT, THIS HUMBLE EFFORT TO
INTERPRET THE ARCHBISHOP'S ACTIONS BY A
CONSIDERATION OF HIS MOTIVES AND IDEALS
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

GENERAL PREFACE

THE intention of this series of studies of the lives of English bishops and priests is to suggest the significance of the man in the age in which he lived and in the movements within the Church with which he was concerned. It is the general editorial policy to select a biographer sympathetic with the character with whom he deals, since, in the view of the editor, sympathy is necessary to understanding. The choice of subjects is entirely arbitrary, following no chronological order and no settled plan, and the writers represent every school of thought in the English Church. Each volume is individual, and the writer alone is responsible for its judgements.

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CHAPTER I

EARLY YEARS

THE Renaissance was slow in coming to fruition in England. The centres of the new delight in life and thirst for knowledge were in France and Italy. Early in the sixteenth century the circumference of European thought on which England stood was touched by the new inspiration ; but the religious controversy quickly engulfed all other interests. And this controversy became immediately intertwined with another. Was England to be allowed to call her soul her own ? Politically she had to repel the attacks of the ancient and mighty power of Spain. But spiritually there were two foreign tyrannies that were contending to possess her : the imperial claims of Rome and the dogmatic terrors of Geneva. From the first days of the great cleavage a few far-seeing minds had dimly recognised that England had a contribution to make to the spiritual

life of the world that would perish if either of these foreign masters were suffered to prevail.

It was not until outward peace and national security were slowly achieved under Elizabeth that any opening was given to put the vision of Cranmer into practice. Then at last the true lineaments of the English soul began to emerge ; and that combination of respect for the past and belief in the future, of reverence and freedom, of love of order and delight in initiative, that was to be the main evidence of that soul, found for all time its perfect expression in the plays of William Shakespeare and the music of William Byrd. Learning was respected ; poetry was in the air ; and beauty was sought as a bride.

But the future was precarious. Reason and romance were still but twinkling stars, not full and shining orbs. The Papist still plotted ; the Puritan still schemed. The danger was real and pressing that England, instead of offering a third alternative in religion, should itself fall a prey to the divisive influences that made an unbending Papalism wrestle in death-grips with a stark Protestantism all over the Continent. Of the two dangers the Puritan was the more serious, for it had got a lodgement in England, which gave

it the advantage of seeming to be a native product. If it were to triumph there was danger lest those who, like Sir Thomas Browne, had "a mind for the magnalities" might be driven to accept the rule of Rome, as a surer guarantee of the grace and dignity of human existence. "The star of reason and learning and all such like helps, beginneth no other wise to be thought of than if it were an unlucky comet," Hooker sadly wrote. He saw that if the English soul was to be free to develop it must clothe itself in the ancient garments of Christendom. It must recover the spirit that had inspired the one Church of Christ before it became embedded under an imperialistic political system. But he saw also that it must elaborate a system of its own in close contact with the national life, protected by forms of law, and enshrined in adequate religious observance. To this end he contributed an imposing philosophy. But, as Laud once said to Wentworth, "honest and learned is not enough for government". If a conception as difficult as it was rare was to exist, it must fight for its life in the arena of men. Two champions had appeared in the lists. They were both Archbishops of Canterbury. Their names were Matthew Parker and Richard Bancroft. They had encouraged

solid learning and discouraged the harsh narrowness of a very speculative divinity. But the very existence of the episcopate, which was the only guarantee that a larger and more human theology and loyalty to the great stream of Christian life and devotion would not perish, was itself threatened. Loud demands had been made for "a reform of the Reformation", and a determined body among the clergy were pledged to overthrow the whole scheme of religion, to make the Prayer Book a dead letter, and to establish Presbyterianism. The movement had been scotched but not killed. Indeed, it continued to grow, and, with the support of powerful nobles, to constitute a Church within a Church that set authority at defiance, and would listen to nothing that did not satisfy its private standards of orthodoxy. No small strength was added to the movement by the follies of its extremist enemies. Puritan and Papist combined to mislead the mind of England and to strangle its soul. Only an opponent utterly fearless, equally determined, and more fully aware of England's spiritual needs, could hope to save the situation.

It would be of the greatest interest to know fully the kind of influences, spiritual and intellectual, that played round the adolescent

life of one who was to carve out so great and individual a place for himself in the history of England and England's Church as did William Laud. Unfortunately, our knowledge is meagre. It is mostly of the external kind. It sheds very little light on the perplexing problem about which we should like to know so much. How was it that a boy of comparatively humble origin acquired so clear and definite a point of view of the function of the Church and so reasoned and broad a theology at an early age? The question is especially perplexing when it is remembered that the point of view that he adopted, though capable of justification in previous Anglican tradition, was in many ways opposed to current types of thought.

The Archbishop records in his diary that he was born at Reading on October 7, 1573. He was never a strong man physically, and he tells us that in infancy he nearly died. It is characteristic of the aristocratic temper of his adversaries that he was accused at the time of his trial of being born "of poor and obscure parents". It is equally characteristic of Laud that he should reply, "All this, if true, is no fault of mine". But he goes on to uphold their good name by pointing out that his father had borne all offices in the

town save the mayoralty, and that so far was his home from being a cottage, as was alleged, that it was rented at the time of his trial at thirty-three pounds a year. His father was in fact a native of Wokingham, who had settled at Reading, and had some success in the clothing trade. According to Heylyn, who probably exaggerated somewhat, he had many weavers, spinners, and fullers at continual work. He married a widow who had originally also come from Wokingham, the daughter of John Webbe of that place. She was probably of the same capable artisan kind of family, and she had a brother who became in 1591 Sir William Webbe and Lord Mayor of London. The trade of England was expanding rapidly, and many industrious humble folk were raising themselves to more solid positions in the world. Lucy Webbe had done well for herself in marrying John Robinson, who was also a clothier in Reading. He would appear to have been a man of some substance, and their children all got good positions. The son, William, became a Doctor in Divinity, a Prebendary of Westminster, and Archdeacon of Nottingham, while two of the five daughters married clergymen of some note. William Laud was the only child of Lucy Robinson's second

marriage. It may be doubted whether the second home was so comfortably circumstanced as the first. For though the future Archbishop thanked God that he had been born of honest parents, who lived in a plentiful condition and employed many poor people in their way, he also admits in his diary that he was poor enough when he went up to Oxford, and it is said that he owed his education there to the liberality of a Mrs. Burnegham. No doubt the home was well enough, and the living sufficient ; no doubt, also, he was brought up in an atmosphere of industry and probity. But he was not ashamed to be of the people, and it is easy to see that his early circumstances gave him a sympathy with humble folk that he never lost, and made him their champion against the purse-proud *nouveaux riches*, who were his most bitter enemies in later life. He was always small in stature, and the picture that we have of him in his schooldays is of an undersized, sickly boy. He went to Reading Grammar School, which had been endowed by Henry VII. in 1486. In after years the Archbishop looked back to his schooldays with a sense of grievance, "being sensible to this daye what it is to be bredd under an ill schoolmaster".

But the aforesaid master had enough intelligence to see that he had a remarkable pupil, and to give spurs to his ambition. "When you are a little great man," he used to say to the boy, "remember Reading School." And to his credit he did; for Laud was the most loyal of men, who never forgot a privilege or a friend. When he became Archbishop of Canterbury, the school, which had flourished considerably in the interim under a capable schoolmaster, Andrew Byrd, became one of the many institutions on which, in the midst of a life crowded with business, he found time to bestow the most meticulous interest. He saw to it that a good schoolmaster succeeded Dr. Byrd; he urged the Corporation to make better provision for his stipend and lodging; and subsequently assigned from some lands that he gave to the Corporation of his native town twenty pounds to be paid yearly and for ever to the schoolmaster of the Free School of Reading, though he added with characteristic thoroughness, that it was only to be paid so long as the schoolmaster was "approved and diligent".

In all this there is nothing to show us what theological and religious influences were dominant in the school during Laud's

time there. But perhaps it is legitimate to infer, since he makes no complaint on that score, that there was no attempt to indoctrinate the children with Puritanism. When he says his schoolmaster was an "ill" one, he appears to have incapacity or laziness in view. It is probable on the whole that both there and at home he was nurtured on the plain teaching of the Prayer Book. But, whatever is to be said of his early days, from the moment that he went to Oxford he came under a definite, and, as it proved, a lasting influence. He tells us that he was sent to the University a few months before he was sixteen, and became a commoner of the College of S. John Baptist, which he did so much to adorn. The choice of a college was no doubt dictated by an old connection between Sir Thomas White's foundation and the town of Reading. The precocious youth did well, and good reports of him reaching his native town, he was nominated by the Mayor and others of the Corporation to a scholar's place, which led in three years' time, as a natural consequence, to his becoming a Fellow.

Few things matter more to a quick and impressionable student than the man to whom it falls to direct his studies. Sometimes a violent reaction is caused. More often it is

•

the other way, and the whole subsequent bent of a life may be traced to the mind that brought its knowledge and experience to bear on that of expanding youth. It was so in Laud's case. When we read of his tutor, Dr. Buckeridge, that he was one who knew as well as any other of his time how to employ the two-edged sword of Holy Scripture, brandishing it on the one side against the Papists, and on the other against the Puritans or Nonconformists; when we learn, also, that in one learned work he shook the pretended supremacy of the Papal See over kings and princes, and in another confuted the Puritan objections to kneeling at the Lord's Supper; when, finally, we read that he was later promoted to the see of Rochester after he had preached a sermon before the king on the favourite Royalist text, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers", we seem to see a prophecy of Laud's later history, and have no doubt who set him on the course that made him so famous and so tragic a figure. The ardent young pupil did not forget his teacher, and when he was himself a bishop with influence at Court, he used his power to repay what he owed by obtaining for his master the rich see of Ely.

Laud's attraction to Buckeridge's teaching

was doubtless partly due to his own inclination to order and discipline, partly to his strong nationalist feeling, but partly also, it may be suspected, to certain fighting instincts. Youth loves a cause, especially if it can be identified with its school or college; and the fact that the Anglican doctrine, which had been thought out and fought for by Cranmer and Jewel and Parker, was not popular in Oxford, though stoutly maintained at the new and small foundation of S. John's, was, likely enough, not without its influence. Forty-six years before, one of the correspondents of the great Protestant mentor, who influenced the world from Zurich, had said that "the Oxonians are still to the present pertinaciously sticking in the mud of popery". But times had changed. The seed planted by Bullinger's friend, Peter Martyr, had grown, and during the reign of Elizabeth had been plentifully watered. Archbishop Whitgift had repressed Presbyterian organisations, but he was tender to the theology that went with it, and when the young Reading boy came to Oxford he found himself in a place where Calvin's *Institutes* reigned supreme. Dr. Lawrence Humphrey, who had been President of Magdalen and Regius Professor of Divinity for thirty years, when Laud came up, had

seen to that. He was one of those who had been driven to Switzerland in Mary's time, and he had come back, as did so many more, determined to make the Church of England conform to the Geneva pattern, and persuaded that all who would not accept the "Calvinian Rigors" were as bad as Papists. But he was now an old man. He was supported by the Margaret Professor, the President of Corpus Christi and other eminent persons in the University. Yet though Calvinism seemed firmly installed, the beginnings of a reaction were making themselves felt, both at Oxford and elsewhere. The Earl of Leicester, Lawrence Humphrey's patron, died the year before Laud went to the University, and Richard Hooker was already coming into prominence as a powerful and philosophic critic of the Puritan position. The thesis that nothing could be allowed in public worship that was not directly and literally indicated in Scripture was beginning to be rejected as unreasonable by a rising generation. Bancroft, subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury, had as chaplain to Whitgift in 1588 preached a sermon demonstrating the complete novelty and unapostolic character of the Puritan scheme, and praising that reform of the ancient services of the

Catholic Church in England which is preserved to us in the Book of Common Prayer. There were signs of movement in the air. Their force was, as often happens, not perceived by those in high academic office, or was mistaken for the eccentricity of innovators or the perversity of youth. It was a situation calculated to make a great appeal to an active young mind, conscious of power, open to the fresh winds blowing across the desert of ecclesiastical controversy, in high reaction against established intolerance, and well furnished by study with grounds for a wider and, at the same time, more romantic view.

The revived theory that the true tradition was to be found in the study of the Fathers in all their variety, rather than in the restricted speculations of the oracle of Geneva, came strongly upon the scene at a time when a general Renaissance of learning was waxing. It fitted well with it. The only great teacher of the Church to whom appeal had been made by the dominant party was S. Augustine, and it was only part of that rich and manifold quarry that had been drawn upon. Convocation had twenty years before pointed to the ancient fathers and godly bishops of the primitive times as the best interpreters of the

Scriptures. The new school turned to them with avidity, and were not ashamed to make themselves acquainted with Thomas Aquinas and the great schoolmen as well. At both Universities there was some strong intellectual passion at work, reviving an interest in learning of all kinds. The students were trained on a broad plan. Rhetoric, Logic, and Physic were often the foundation, which would be completed by Jurisprudence and Humanity. We read of students being eager to learn Greek and Hebrew. In one Cambridge college a regulation was passed in 1601 that "all bachelors should attend the Hebrew lectures, and that no one shall be admitted to the B.A. who had not attended these lectures for one year". It would seem that the Renaissance received little or no encouragement from the Calvinists in power, and those who were most forward in promoting learning were commonly accused of Popish designs. At Cambridge, Dr. Caius, earlier in Elizabeth's reign, had been driven by Philistine Puritans from the college he had done so much to enrich by his wide learning and munificent benefactions, and had died of a broken heart. He was charged by his arrogant and narrow opponents with "atheism" and "popery", though the latter accusation would seem to

have been as idle as the former. His only crime would seem to have been a reverence for the past and a love of dignified worship. Some memorial verses composed on his death indicate the kind of struggle that was being carried on in the Universities in Elizabethan days.

We caytifes in this wretched world our laboures lost
bewayle,
To study arts that are despise, alas, what doth avayle ?
Thou, following the cause which God and fortune did
thee send,
In buildings great for sacred Muse thy life and wealth
didst spend ;
And with thy learned bookes the world adorned thou
hast.

His successor, Stephen Legge, had to endure similar opposition both from the authorities of the Church and from impudent and ignorant young fellows. The temper of the younger men who were climbing into power in the Universities is revealed in a story recorded touching Mr. Richard Swale, who was tutor in Legge's time, and was bitterly complained of by Archbishop Sandys of York as a corrupter of youth. When one of these boys "on one occasion asked him (Swale) to buy him a Calvin's Catechism or Beza's Confession, he was offended with him". The suspicious youth at once jumped to a con-

clusion, reached as quickly, though with less excuse, by many of his elders. "Being a sober wise young man he said unto Mr. Church that he thought his tutor was a Papist." It is true, of course, that some of the young men of this time both at Oxford and at Cambridge did turn Papist. It is not unreasonable to assume that the narrowness of those who were quite certain that they alone had "God's Gospel", and that any who did not agree with their shibboleths had no "love or liking of religion", did much to convince many to whom the storied past and humane learning and seemly worship were dear that these things were only to be secured by obedience to the majestic see of Rome. It is a mistake, however, to attribute such views to men like Legge or Swale. Their history suggests that they were rather early precursors of a more tolerant view of religion. Swale for example was regarded with affection by Janus Gruter, the great scholar to whom he had been tutor, and the man who became professor at Wittenberg and Heidelberg was certainly no Papist.

So far as Oxford was concerned the liberal movement tended more and more to centre in the bustling and intrepid little Fellow of S. John's who, having taken his degree in

Divinity, was, in 1602, appointed Lecturer on Mrs. May's foundation, and in the following year a Proctor. He quickly made a stir, and we get glimpses of two notes of his character at this stage of his career. He was capable of a shrewd tact in dealing with individuals, and he had a clear view of his theological position. The former trait is illustrated by a story of his proctorship, in which he had the character of being "civil and moderate", and this character he is said to have sustained when he was addressed by a vagrant whom he awoke from his slumbers on a bench near Carfax with these words, "Thou little morsell of justice, prithee let me alone and be at rest".

It was not long, however, before the definiteness of Laud's theological views brought him into conflict. The first controversy of this kind in which he is known to have been engaged exposes at once the two different conceptions of the Church that were struggling for mastery. Laud maintained in a sermon or lecture the constant and perpetual visibility of the Church of Christ, derived from the Apostles to the Church of Rome, and continued in that Church (as in others of the East and South) till the Reformation. This was opposed by Dr. Abbott, a great figure then in Oxford, as Master of University

College and Vice-Chancellor of the University, and later a still greater figure in the country, as Archbishop of Canterbury.

Laud favoured a different view from that popular amongst the Puritans. They traced the continuity of the Church from S. Paul to S. Augustine, from S. Augustine to Berengarius, and so through the Albigenses, Wyclif, Huss, Luther, and Calvin to the Thirty-nine Articles, which they interpreted in a sense agreeable to what they supposed to have been the teaching of these giants of the truth. The whole conception of continuity is radically different in the two views. Laud believed in a continuity of fact, the Puritans in a continuity of doctrine. Laud's view was rooted in history, the alternative in theological speculation. It was of course not Laud's view in the sense that he invented it. He had doubtless learnt it from Buckeridge; it was quite independently being upheld by Hooker and Field and Bilson; and Field had already written his book *Of the Church*, which with Bilson's *Perpetual Government of Christ, His Church*, caused Anthony Wood to couple them later in retrospect as principal maintainers of the Church of England.

Laud, no doubt, put things simply, even controversially; he brought together various

elements in the view ; he maintained the necessity of Baptism ; he claimed diocesan bishops as an essential element in a Christian Church ; and he forced the discussion into the sphere of everyday practice by insisting on the duty of bowing at the name of Jesus. He made the thing pointed and practical, and challenged remark. But he added nothing really new. Even his joining of ceremonial practice and theological learning had already been anticipated by Lancelot Andrewes. But the dominant powers regarded him as a dangerous innovator. Both Universities took alarm, and the objections raised show that the alarm was grounded in genuine mystification. The sharp division of Catholic and Protestant had reigned so long that the *via media* that Jewel had adumbrated was already forgotten. Good Dr. Joseph Hall of Cambridge confessed himself at sea.

I would I knew where to finde you ; then I could tell how to take direct aims ; whereas now I must pause and conjecture. To-day you are in the Tents of the Romanists, to-morrow in ours ; the next day between both, against both. Our adversaries think you ours, we theirs ; your Conscience finds you with both, and neither ?

It is worth while at this stage to pause a moment to consider what the doctrine of Calvin was that was so ardently embraced by

a minority in England and so stoutly resisted by Laud and his friends. The doctrine is in many ways so remote from the prevailing ideas of our time that it is easy to do less than justice to this strange but impressive theory of religion and the universe, and as a consequence to misunderstand the actions of those who held it. Calvin was a young Frenchman of Picardy who had been trained in the law, but afterwards turned his attention to theological questions in a manner that in Catholic Paris made him suspect to authority. As a consequence he went into voluntary exile at Basel, and there produced in 1536 the work which was to exercise a unique and dominating influence on Protestant thought for nearly three centuries. The *Institutio Christianae Religionis* underwent extension and development in many later editions, but the whole of the main system of thought is embodied in the first draft, which is an astonishing work of genius for a young man of twenty-seven to have produced. It may fairly be called a work of genius, because it embodies an intellectual conception entirely original ; though Luther's experience and writings, doubtless gave a lead in the direction of justification by faith and predestination, which was fortified by a study of S. Augustine. Calvin thought

he got his teaching from the Bible, but it was really from his own amazingly powerful and logical brain that there emanated a system of theology and Church order which offered a complete alternative to the Catholic system, separated and opposite at almost all points.

Calvin did more to break up the intellectual unity of Europe than any other man. It may have been a necessary phase. But, whatever we may think of this, it is impossible to withhold a certain admiration from this Napoleon of thought, and the vast influence of his effort at spiritual empire will always lend a romantic interest to his teaching. Since this teaching most clearly and definitely summed up the position of the more extreme reformers, its character is naturally considerably determined by that which provoked so great a reaction. All turns on the conception of God. The first words of Calvin's *Institutio* contain the germ of all the rest.

The whole of our wisdom, at least in so far as it is solid and true wisdom, consists of two parts, the knowledge of God and of ourselves.

There is the hint that there is other wisdom, but it is profane and illusory ; it must be excluded. The knowledge of God is all absorbing. No doubt many a medieval writer would have subscribed to the words

that Calvin writes, many an ascetic would have rejoiced in them, and many a mystic have accepted the aim proposed as sufficient. The real question was, What kind of God?

Though the majesty of God had, of course, always been taught by Catholic theologians, the popular conception of the Supreme Being created by later medieval religion was very different. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that He was regarded as one who could be dodged or cajoled or bought off by all kinds of cunning devices. It was a good thing to have Him on your side, but this could be secured by convenient negotiations, which did not necessarily involve any very great moral effort on the part of the worshipper. Matters could be arranged, and the Church was given Divine authority to arrange them. The Reformation had many aspects; some only remotely connected with religion. From certain points of view it was an outbreak of the philistinism and vulgarity and selfishness that lie at all times not far below the surface of humanity. But there was also a strong religious protest running through the movement which gave it dignity and depth; a protest against easy-going, unworthy conceptions of Him by whom all things were made for great and noble ends.

The austerity of Calvin's conception of God was a complete challenge to popular theology. It blew across Europe like an East wind, dispelling mists and languor, and bracing men to look at life with stronger, truer gaze. This is the secret of his power. His doctrine was tremendous ; it was clear and cleansing. He pointed men to the awful figure that had struck the prophets of Israel with awe and stupor. The Majesty of God is a phrase that comes frequently from his pen. And this majestic Figure sustained the world at all times ; He was vigilant, efficacious, and always at work. From His will resulted all that was.

When we attribute foreknowledge to God, we mean that all things are always and perpetually under his eyes, that to his knowledge there is no future or past, but only present. And this extends to the whole ambit of the universe and to all creatures.

Man as he looked up saw his own helplessness ; humanity lay in ruin. God was all, man was nothing ; and had not God willed to save some, they never could have emerged from their doomed condition. Calvin's statement of the doctrine could not be bettered for clearness, and he believes that it is self-evident. To doubt it proves hypocrisy.

No one who wishes to think piously will dare

simply to deny that pre-destination by which God adopts some to hope of life, and adjudges others to eternal death. . . . For not all are created to a like condition ; *sed aliis vita aeterna, aliis damnatio praeordinatur.*

To some eternal life is foreordained, to others damnation. God knew His own.

The men of the Middle Ages had been passionately concerned about their latter end. Calvin shared their concern. He deepened it and added to it a terrible and profound uncertainty. Predestination followed as a natural corollary of his belief in the ultimate reality of one thing, and one thing only, the Divine Will. A certain assurance that they were numbered among the elect could be reached by those who flung themselves on the mercy offered in Christ. If they saw the signs of the Spirit within themselves they might hope that when the secrets of the Divine providence were revealed, they might find themselves amongst the saved.

There are many philosophical difficulties in this theology. But it undoubtedly gave a man a terrific sense of the seriousness of life, and of the existence of "two and two only absolute and luminously self-evident beings", himself and God, to quote one who all his life through was profoundly affected by this view.

Like all fatalistic theologies, like Moham-medanism for example, it steeled the soul to endure, but it also hardened the hearts of many who were sure of their election, and narrowed their sympathies, while by a strange irony of fate it ministered to a human pride which it was one of the first objects of the system to expel. Intolerance was inherent in its bones, as it were. All who did not accept the doctrine as God's truth were not mistaken ; they were morally depraved. In endeavouring to make religion supreme it cast a blight over many legitimate human interests. Calvinism cut off the whole realm of art from man's life, and tended to seat sin in the senses. In the sphere where politics and religion touch, Calvin was for the dominance of religion ; the rule of God's law must prevail, and no untrue religion must be allowed.

When the Papists are so harsh and so violent in defence of their superstitions that they rage cruelly to shed innocent blood, are not Christian magistrates ashamed to shew themselves less ardent in defence of the sure truth.

Indeed, though Calvin taught at times the duty of passive obedience to ungodly rulers, at others he did not hesitate to appeal to the example of Jael and Sisera. Where Calvin-

ism had free play, as at Geneva, in New England and in Scotland, it shewed itself the unbending enemy of individual liberty.

It was an imposing view ; but it was not one with which in its complete form it was possible to make terms. There was a fundamental irrationality in it. Calvin derived all from the Will of God, rather than from the Divine Reason. He thought his theology was authoritatively delivered in Scripture. But he never attempted to shew why Scripture should thus be isolated from all other foundations of belief. Ultimately it was the meaning he put upon Scripture that was the test to which every human activity must be brought. Many especially in England were impressed and invigorated by the new majesty that Calvin gave to the name of God, who nevertheless refused to cramp the whole of life into the Calvinian scheme. Calvin brought energy and vigour to an enervated world by fearlessly exposing man's weakness and God's strength ; but too often his doctrine led captivity captive not to God himself but to a theory about God that was less than half the truth. Theological speculation became the main motion of religion, and the spirit of the Gospels sank out of view.

CHAPTER II

FROM OXFORD TO THE COURT

IT is time now to return to Laud. We left him as Proctor, already beginning to be known as maintaining doctrine that startled the Calvinist seniors ; but we may feel sure that it delighted many of the younger dons, who had elected him to the proctorship. He was the centre of controversy. The Heads of Houses were so horrified by a sermon that he had preached, urging bowing at the name of Jesus, that "it was a scandal for any person to be seen in his company, or to give him the usual compliment or time of the day. Many were the censures that then passed upon him, as a busy and pragmatistical person, and much upon that account did he at present suffer". The debated sermon, however, brought him into wider notice. It was heard and approved by two or three learned men about the Court, and the Chancellor, the Earl of Dorset, gave

Dr. Airy the Vice-Chancellor to understand that he had better stop the proceedings that were proposed against Laud.

It was in the previous year that he had come into contact with the great world in a way that led to unfortunate results. He had become chaplain to the Earl of Devonshire, and had allowed himself to be persuaded into solemnising the Earl's marriage with the divorced Lady Rich. Was this contradiction of his principles due to ambition, to please his powerful friend? Partly, we may well believe. But it is probable that sympathy with the beautiful lady had its influence. She had been tenderly loved by the Earl of Devonshire, and they were privately pledged to one another; but she had been forced into an odious marriage with Lord Rich, because he was a man of independent fortune, while the Earl was then but Sir Charles Blunt and a younger brother. The chaplain was quickly punished. King James was furious, Laud's own party were displeased, and the Earl died within a year. Laud ever after remembered S. Stephen's Day as an annual day of penance. But in spite of this mistake Laud's position in the world continued to improve. The vicarage of Stanford in Northampton came to him in 1607, and in the following year he received

the advowson of North Kilworth in Leicestershire.

In the following year he became Doctor in Divinity, and an important alliance was inaugurated by his appointment as chaplain to Dr. Neile, Bishop of Rochester. We read of disappointments in his diary, but they were outweighed by the position he occupied as the confidant of one who was Clerk to King James. We are told that Dr. Neile valued his position because "standing continually at his Elbow, he might be ready to perform good offices to the Church and Churchmen". Dr. Neile certainly did well for himself, as he passed from one bishopric to another, till at last he received the great Palatine See of Durham, one of the richest in the kingdom. To us to-day the frank search for preferment that prevailed then is apt to be shocking, though it would be sometimes hard to say whether it is the search or the frankness that offends. But it has to be remembered that it was then the only way in which a man of parts could find scope for his abilities. The Crown had a power which it is difficult for us to picture, and influence at Court was vital not only for personal reasons, but in order to promote any cause in which a divine might believe. Many no doubt were self-seekers, loving money,

place and power for its own sake. But others there were who desired these things to establish what they regarded as the truth. We may believe that there was something of this in Neile who used his influence to win James's support for those who upheld the Anglican tradition.

In Laud this aim was paramount. In 1610 he left Oxford and his fellowship to be near his patron and settled at his benefice of Kuckstone in Kent. But in this year a controversy began which ended in bringing Laud back to Oxford. Dr. Neile was translated to Lichfield, and Buckeridge succeeded him at Rochester. The Presidentship of S. John's was then left vacant, and Laud was spoken of. His old enemy, Abbott, by this time Bishop of London, did his best to hinder his appointment by complaining to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Ellesmere, that "he was at the least a Papist at heart, and cordially addicted unto Popery". But Bishop Neile used his influence with the King, who, when he was appealed to by the two rival parties in the college, gave sentence in behalf of Laud. With his love of omens and prognostications the new President was specially delighted to notice that the decision was given on August 29, which was the day on

which the beheading of S. John Baptist was commemorated.

A pleasing trait in Laud's character is revealed by his first act as President. He immediately took into his special favour Richard Baylie, the young Fellow who had been the leader of the party opposed to him, and who had gone to the length at the voting of tearing up the paper on which he supposed Laud's election was inscribed. The young man was won to him for life, and he became in time his successor in the Presidentship. Altogether Laud's government of the college seems to have been wise and reasonable. When Lord Saye in a bitter speech accused him in later years of being one "whose narrow comprehensions extended itself no further than to carry on a side in a College", he was able truly and proudly to reply, "I governed that College in peace, without so much as the show of a faction, all my time, which was upon eleven years". Those who know what college factions can be will understand that this was a task demanding patience and love. The college prospered every way, in discipline, in studies, and in numbers, and not least in the lovely buildings that stand as a permanent memorial of this devoted son of S. John's. The work sup-

posed, because it is so admirable, to be by Inigo Jones, was more likely from the design of Jackson the master-builder, though it is not unlikely that Juxon and Laud himself had a hand in it. Laud gives the most precise directions as to the uses of the new building. There is to be an inner library, where “ may be kept the manuscripts, and all small books, which might otherwise be in danger of losing; or any other rarity which may in after time be given to that College”. Among the rarities were the mathematical books and instruments, and some of them he gave himself. He goes into great detail as to the persons who are to live in the rooms and the rent to be paid. Laud’s love of music in worship led him to erect a “great organ” in the chapel, which survived till 1768. This, of course, was regarded as a dangerous innovation.

Laud’s influence in the University grew apace. He was attacked by Robert Abbott, the elder brother of the Archbishop, and Regius Professor of Divinity, because he had said in a sermon that Presbyterians were as bad as Papists. But the numbers who sympathised with him were growing; criticisms of Calvin’s interpretations became more common; and it was no longer so

dangerous to "touch at anything in which Geneva was concerned". But though Laud remained President of S. John's till 1621, becoming more powerful as the years passed, his life was more and more centred outside Oxford. Once President, "he thought it was high time to cast an eye on the Court"; and thither we must follow him.

Though Laud became a Royal Chaplain in 1611, he was long disappointed of further preferment, chiefly owing to the opposition of Archbishop Abbott. Bishop Neile sympathised with his eager young friend's chagrin, but "to keep him up in heart and spirit" gave him the prebendal stall of Buckden in the Church of Lincoln, and made him Archdeacon of Huntingdon. In 1616 "His Majesty began to take him into his better thoughts" and made him Dean of Gloucester, which gave Laud a chance to put some of his theories into practice.

Gloucester was a stronghold of Puritanism; Laud hardly required a hint from the king that the Church was ill governed to set out immediately and see for himself. He was shocked by signs of neglect, and especially to find the Communion Table standing in the midst of the choir. But he took care to act constitutionally. He immediately summoned

a Chapter of the Prebendaries and without difficulty got them to agree to two things, typical of the new Dean. One was the immediate repairing of the Church ; the other was the transposing of the Communion Table to the east end of the choir, and placing it along the wall, "as was done in His Majesty's Chapels, and all well - ordered Cathedral Churches ". He further recommended that the Prebendaries and all officiating in the Church should make a humble reverence to Almighty God "not only at their first entrance into the Quire, but at their approaches towards the holy Table ", quoting as his authority primitive times, the solemnities of the Knights of the Garter, and divers great persons in the realm. The city, where Hooper's protest against the episcopal habit was doubtless still remembered, was in an uproar, and the turbulent spirits received much encouragement from the Bishop, as keen a Calvinist as he was a Hebraist.

It is possible to sympathise with the old Puritan scholar, and yet to recognise that Laud was merely trying to introduce seemliness and order into a neglected Church. This question of the altar, which continually haunts the history of these times, was not a trifle. It was the outward and visible sign

according as it was placed, either of the continuity of the Church of the ages, or of identification with the new model of Calvin. Laud was not really the innovator. He appealed on this point to the injunctions of Queen Elizabeth. "This being law in the beginning of the Reformation, cannot now be an innovation." What made it seem so was the growth of the Puritan reaction that followed the Spanish attempts to win England for Rome.

Laud's eminently sensible attitude on questions of ceremonial is explained in his *Conference with Fisher the Jesuit*. He complains that the modern Roman teaching about the reverence due to images by its likeness to paganism has driven many into too violent reaction.

These and their like have given so great a scandal among us, to some ignorant, though, I presume, well-meaning men, that they are afraid to testify their duty to God, even in his own house, by any outward gesture at all; insomuch that these very ceremonies which by the judgment of godly and learned men, have now long continued in the practice of this Church, suffer hard measure for the Romish superstition's sake. But I will conclude this point with the saying of B. Rhenanus: "Who could endure the people," says he, "rushing into the church like swine into a sty? Doubtless, ceremonies do not hurt the people, but profit them, so

there be a mean kept, and the bye be not put for the main ; that is, so we place not the principal part of our piety in them."

The people of Gloucester were easily stirred up to tumult, as Baxter found when he went there in the early days of the Civil War. It may be doubted if Laud made many converts, though threats of the High Commission and the severe proceedings of Alderman Jones produced external quiet. His time was chiefly occupied elsewhere. He did not forget his University. Under his inspiration James sent directions requiring students to resort to the sermons at S. Mary's, to keep their "scholastical" habits, and to be restrained from haunting town houses, especially at night ; students in divinity were to study such books as were agreeable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and specially to bestow their time on the fathers, councils, schoolmen and histories, and not to trust only in compendiums and abbreviations. This combination of care for sound morals, sound learning and orderly behaviour is characteristically Laudian.

Laud was more and more with the king. He attended him to Scotland, and received his first taste of the independence of the

inhabitants of those parts. He was much disturbed by a preacher who prayed that Scotland might be saved from the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. "But there was no remedy ; the Scots were Scots, and resolved to go their own way whatsoever came of it." The little man had bitter cause to learn this later.

This journey gave rise to a significant action on the part of King James, in which we may probably detect Laud's hand. The king had received complaints, as he passed through Lancashire, that men were being compelled to work on the old Holy Days, which were also holidays, and the rigors of some preachers and ministers of justice were restraining them from innocent and lawful pastimes on the Lord's Day. The king was the more moved to listen to them because many Papists were being prevented from conversion to the Protestant religion by the idea that that religion was inconsistent with all harmless and modest recreation. Two further disadvantages were perceived ; men who were hindered from man-like exercises were unlikely to make good soldiers, and, open pastimes being forbidden, they were likely to be driven to tippling-houses, there to curse both Church and State.

The king accordingly declared that after Divine Service lawful recreations should be allowed, and gave his sanction to May-games, Whitsun-ales, and morris-dances, and the setting up of maypoles. The Declaration distinguished between good and bad recreations ; bear-baiting and bull-baiting were not to be allowed. Nothing gave greater offence to the Puritans than this refusal to interfere with the harmless pleasure of ordinary people. We see here the germ of something which a great Protestant thinker has pointed to as an outcome of the Protestant theories, " the education of a humble and patient working-class fitted to the needs of the manorial estate, which still at the beginning of the nineteenth century furnished the sweeping advance of industrialism with a docile labour supply ".

It was such a docile labour supply that the Puritan nobles and gentry wanted. Laud, whose early life taught him sympathy with the hand worker, always felt an instinctive antipathy to this aspect of Puritanism. The state of the poor was a constant anxiety during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. Manufactures and commerce were increasing, and the growth of big estates dispossessed many who had grown what they wanted on a

little patch of land. Laws that seem savage to us placed restraint on the unemployed ; begging was a felony, and, if persisted in, ended in the gallows. The worst feature of the time was undoubtedly the fact that the rising country gentry and merchants formed a large percentage of the Justices of the Peace, to whom it fell to administer laws that practically kept large classes in slavery.

Honours now came to Laud more quickly. In 1620 he at last received the prebendal stall at Westminster that he had been promised so long. On June 3 of the following year there appears an entry in his diary which tells much.

The King's gracious speech unto me concerning my long service. He was pleased to say he had given me nothing but Gloucester, which he knew well was a shell without a kernel.

The hopes roused by this speech were fulfilled on the next S. Peter's Day when the king nominated Laud to the see of S. David's. It was a great moment. He had long wished a bishopric ; only as a bishop could he do the work for his beloved Church of England that he felt called to do.

Laud's conception of a bishop depended upon his belief that it was an office instituted by Christ Himself for the right government of His Church. It was also greatly influenced

by the vision that he had of the relations of Church and State. It is a loose use of words to call him an Erastian. Both Church and Commonwealth are collective bodies, made up of many into one ; and both are so near allied that the Church can never subsist without the Commonwealth. Indeed he says, following Hooker, that the same men make the one in a temporal respect that make the other in a spiritual respect. The Church can live, however, without the State, if necessary. And he was quite certain that the Commonwealth could not make laws for the Church. He desired a concord between the two, which the bishops should be forward to promote. The Commonwealth can have no blessed and happy being but by the Church. So he thought bishops ought to be well-provided and powerful. The fact that they lived in palaces was a testimony to all the world that the State honoured religion. Thus would a restraint be put upon the audaciousness of evil. But it was above all necessary that the holders of the office should be men, strong and capable. Such were the true walls of Jerusalem, *veri muri*. Prayer is good, Laud says, and necessary. But can a State be managed, or a Church governed, only by prayer ? No. You must seek and endeavour

the good of both, as well as pray for the good of both. At last the chance was come to put his belief into practice.

Though Laud was appointed to the bishopric of S. David's on June 29, an unhappy accident prevented his receiving consecration till November. On July 27 Archbishop Abbot was shooting with the crossbow in Lord Zouch's deer park at Bramshall when, "his hand most unhappily swerving", he killed a keeper. By this unfortunate misadventure he became liable according to the civil law to the forfeiture of all his estates. But what matters more from Laud's point of view he became by the canon law, which was still in force, incapable of performing his sacred functions. This was no mere scruple of Laud's; it was shared by all who were to be consecrated bishop at that time, among whom was a figure, who will subsequently appear often in these pages, the Dean of Westminster, John Williams, a pushing and subtle Welshman, who had already acquired considerable influence at Court. When so great a man as Bacon had been convicted of corrupt practices—though no one supposed that his judgements had been deflected thereby—the king felt that he could trust no man bred in the law, and he turned

to an ecclesiastic. Williams was appointed to the great office that Bacon had held, with the title of Lord Keeper.

The medieval custom of putting clergymen into these high and responsible posts still continued, but it was increasingly unpopular among an aristocracy who were more and more endeavouring to get all power into their own hands. There were complaints at this upstart. It was partly to remove the aristocratic objection to the appointment of a mere dean over the heads of so many peers that Williams was now appointed to the great see of Lincoln ; but it throws light on Bacon's difficulties when we find that one of the arguments for the bishopric was that the revenues of the see would be a protection against temptation.

Williams is a man to whom it is not altogether easy to be fair. He was self-seeking and tortuous in his methods of promoting his own advancement. He was not one to allow ecclesiastical principles to stand in the way ; but Gardiner goes too far when he says that he was a clergyman only in name. His friendship with Ferrar and the interest that he shewed in the foundation of the community at Little Gidding tell another story, to say nothing of his ministrations to James

as he lay dying. Williams studied hard to qualify himself at the law, and no objection seems to have been taken subsequently on that score. He worked more conscientiously and intelligently than many of his lay detractors would have done. James's confidence was rewarded, and a fresh argument was provided for appointing ecclesiastics to positions where industry and probity were the first requirements.

Williams's ambition spied in poor Abbott's misfortune the possibility of occupying the highest place in the realm, and he urged Buckingham to point out to the king that "to leave *virum sanguinum*, a man of blood, Primate and Patriarch of all his Churches, is a thing that sounds very harsh in the old Councils and Canons of the Church. The Papists will not spare to descant upon one and the other." It was a clever argument, likely to appeal to James at a time when he wished to stand in good esteem among Roman Catholics at home and abroad. But the Commission that was appointed to consider the matter had their eyes open to possibilities. Especially was Andrewes, the saintly Bishop of Winchester, well aware of the dangers that would follow Williams's occupancy of the archiepiscopal see. Abbott was suffered to

remain Archbishop, but commissions were issued under which Williams was consecrated to Lincoln on November 11, and Laud and others on the Sunday following.

As soon as Parliamentary business would allow him, the new Bishop of St. David's set off on the long journey to his remote diocese, and at once began reformation. It was a vast unwieldy area, stretching from Pembroke-shire to Herefordshire—as indeed it remained until the Church of Wales somewhat unwillingly obtained its freedom a few years ago—and there were only 308 parishes in all that great space. Laud opened his visitation at Brecon and progressed the whole length of the most beautiful diocese in the province of Canterbury ; his carriage at times coming to grief on those wild mountains. As he went he left marks of his zeal behind him. Laud's chief contribution to his new diocese was the provision of a chapel at Abergwili, which had long been the bishop's residence. The consecration of this chapel did not take place till 1625. Laud took special pains with the form and order of the service, which was later charged against him as evident Popery. He was diligent in preaching during his visits to his see, and we get in his diary a pleasant glimpse which suggests that he appreciated

its beauties. On October 10, 1625, he records :

Monday, I went on horseback up to the mountains. It was a very bright day for the time of year, and so warm that on our return I and my company dined in the open air, in a place called Pente Cragg, where my registry had his country house.

But though Laud saw more of his diocese than many of the Court bishops—Williams, for example, never got to his cathedral at Lincoln—and felt a real responsibility for it, his duties kept him much away from it. He had resigned the Presidency of S. John's on his appointment as bishop, which was regarded as rather unusual; but he held several livings *in commendam*, as the expression went, and he always visited them and preached from time to time. But it was at Court that his influence and importance were increasingly felt. An incident now occurred that brought him into closer relations with the centre of power.

CHAPTER III

THE ANGLO-CATHOLIC DEFENCE

WE are so familiar with a divided Christendom that it is hard for us, in spite of the efforts now being made in many quarters to weld the broken fragments into one, to realise the deep dissatisfaction felt by most serious persons in the sixteenth century at the spectacle of the rent garment of Christ. The rejection of the Papal supremacy was not intended as an act of schism by those who first withdrew their allegiance from the Bishop of Rome. It was a protest against a supposed usurpation which did not in his own view place the protestor outside the one Church. He was not separating himself from the one body ; he was raising a constitutional question within that body. The sixteenth century is full of projects for uniting those who rejected the Pope, and these efforts are not to be understood as merely political moves to resist Papal power ; they are attempts to manifest

the unity which was regarded as so essential to Christendom. The Confession of Augsburg in Germany was carefully drawn so as to be accepted by as many as possible of those who were attached to the old ways. Cranmer was ceaseless in his efforts to draw all moderate men in Europe together, and his most cherished desire was to hold a Christian council that should be more representative than the Papal Council which had begun at Trent in 1545. This sense of underlying unity died hard. It received bitter blows in the latter part of the sixteenth century. The growing definition of the Roman outlook which was both cause and consequence of the Council of Trent ; the outbreak of the wars of religion, that divided Europe into two armed camps ; the increase in England and in Scotland especially of a point of view that regarded religion in a purely individualistic way ; all these were factors making for division and disruption, and in the end for the abandonment of the ideal of unity. Parker and Bancroft had had a hard struggle against a religion of bitter negation combined with extreme Pharasaic pride. Laud saw the danger quite clearly. It was pressed upon his notice by the extreme demands of the Puritans.

But he refused to give up the idea which had meant so much to Cranmer, to Jewel, to Parker and to Hooker. He believed profoundly in the Catholic Church ; he was certain that he was a member of it, and that the Church of England was part of it. His devoted adherence to this view was a large part of the cause of his downfall ; it was none the less the thing that gives his life significance and invests it with a permanent importance. His attitude to the whole problem is expounded in the account that he published of a famous controversy with "Mr. Fisher the Jesuit". The book is tiresome reading, as is most bygone controversy ; it suffers from the interruptions in the text made by the Jesuit's questions, which Laud has carefully preserved, and the pages are weighted by a wealth of crabbed footnotes. But the argument deserves consideration even to-day, in spite of what must seem to modern eyes certain defects and weaknesses. The preservation of some of the setting of the original debate has an advantage ; it enables us to reconstruct the scene. We can see how real and living the controversy was, and it is impossible not to feel some admiration for the intellectual qualities of a society that could patiently listen to long arguments of so

recondite a nature. Not only is a knowledge of Scripture assumed, but references are continually made without hesitation to remote writers like Tertullian, S. Cyprian and S. Augustine ; S. Thomas Aquinas, Albertus Magnus and other medieval writers are freely quoted ; and confident appeal is made to more recent controversialists, such as Hooker, Archbishop Ussher and the dominating figure of Cardinal Bellarmine. And before whom is this controversy conducted ? Not before the Doctors of the University, nor in the Schools of Oxford or Cambridge, but before a handsome, brilliant, pleasure-loving young man of thirty, who had by the doting affection of the old king been raised to the most important position in the kingdom, and admitted to the most intimate friendship with the Prince of Wales.

The Marquis of Buckingham, as he had by that time become, was the principal aim of the Jesuits, who had become active in England once more. The project of marrying the Prince of Wales to the Infanta of Spain was being passionately pursued by the old king, who wished, before he died, to see his son settled, and at the same time to strengthen the position of his crown and country in Europe by an alliance with the Court of Spain.

This alliance promised two advantages. The Infanta would bring as dowry to the denuded coffers of the king the goodly sum of £600,000. It was hoped also that it would win the support of Spain on the Continent for the king's son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, who was engaged in a struggle with the Emperor Ferdinand for the possession of dominions which were undoubtedly his, but of which he had been deprived partly because he was a Protestant, partly because the Imperial House was doing everything it could to extend its power over the smaller German princes.

In order to promote more friendly relations with Spain, the laws which made residence in England illegal for Roman priests were loosely enforced, laws which had with good reason been passed in the previous reign. The Jesuits had been specially busy. They had a valuable social centre to work from in the house of the Spanish ambassador, Diego Sarmiente d' Acuna, Count of Gondomar, a brilliant diplomatist, who during his nine years' residence in England had proved as valuable an emissary of the Roman religion as he was of his Catholic Majesty—the two things being indeed indistinguishable in the eyes of any Spanish nobleman. He had many links with the English aristocracy, some of

whom, owing to the influence that radiated from his house, had become secretly attached to the Roman See.

Conversions now became more common and open. The latest to be affected by the Romeward movement that was going on was the Countess of Buckingham, the mother of the favourite, a scheming, worldly, pleasure-loving woman. Like many before her and since she wanted to have a religion that made few demands on her in this life, and yet would give her a feeling of security in regard to the life to come—a grave reality always present even to the empty-headed of that age. Should she change her religion it would be a matter not of private importance to herself alone, but possibly of great consequence to the whole state of England. Should she carry her powerful son after her, Papalism would undoubtedly receive a vast accession of strength throughout the country.

It is easy looking back to say that England could never have become Roman Catholic. It was by no means so clear at the time. There was a strong Protestant sentiment in London and in the East and Midlands, but Lancashire, for example, remained stubbornly devoted to the old allegiance. The House of Commons was predominantly Protestant, but

there were strong influences the other way among the Peers, who were still, it must be remembered, the more important body of the two, of greatest influence in the Government. The nobles of the Court were repelled by the drabness of Puritanism, and were increasingly attracted by the dignity, the light and colour of Catholicism. They felt, not unnaturally, that the worship of the Heavenly King should not be less splendid than the honour paid to the earthly.

There was ground for thinking that they were what Heylyn calls "pendulous times". Rumours that the countess was "beginning to stagger in her resolutions" came to the king's ears. He was anxious what effect her conversion, if it took place, might have on his favourite and still more on his son. Steps must be taken to bring her into a right way. Application for assistance in this good office was first made to Dr. Francis White, the Rector of S. Peter in Cornhill and a Divinity Lecturer at S. Paul's. He was well known as an opponent of the Papists, and reputed skilful in controversy. A conference was arranged between Dr. White and the Jesuit who was gaining such influence with the lady. He is known as Fisher, though his real name was Percy. He had joined the Church of

Rome at the early age of fourteen, and his education had been pursued at Rheims and afterwards at Rome. The authorities had recognised his abilities ; and his persuasive powers must have been considerable, since it was he who afterwards gained Laud's famous godson, Chillingworth, to a temporary acceptance of the Papal claims, as well as other eminent persons.

The first conference, at which Buckingham and the king himself were present, was followed by another, again honoured by the royal presence. James loved a theological discussion and was, no doubt, sincerely anxious, as Heylyn says, to save the countess "from the Fisher's net". But no satisfactory result was obtained. It is to be feared that many of the learned arguments employed passed over the lady's head. The matter was getting serious ; heavier artillery must be brought into play. Appeal was made to that rising theologian, the Bishop of S. David's. The king had spoken to him of the matter before, and now another conference was suddenly arranged in which Laud was summoned to be the principal protagonist, though Dr. White was also to be present, and that extremely subtle courtier, the Bishop of Lincoln, John Williams, who, as Lord Keeper

of the Great Seal, was also keeper of the king's conscience. He only put in a word or two sometimes, but he was there—the king himself being absent on this occasion—to shew the royal interest in what was going forward, and, it would hardly be unfair to presume, to take some credit from any success that might be gained, credit which already stood high through his success in winning the marquis's wife to a temporary conformity to the Established Church. The conference took place on May 24, 1622, in that beautiful house overlooking the river, which Buckingham, after much negotiation, had induced the fallen Lord Keeper, Lord S. Albans, to lease to him. We can see the noble ladies in their curls and silks, the magnificent and handsome marquis, and the divines in their sober habits, though Williams was possibly wearing that lay and courtly costume, which the picture in the Deanery at Westminster suggests that he affected—perhaps, as more in keeping with his desire to emphasise his character of Lord Keeper. The debate would seem to have begun early and to have continued throughout the greater part of the day.

It is time to turn to its substance. It opens on what the Jesuit maintained to be the main

theme. "Is there an infallible Church?" In the former conference the Lord Keeper and Dr. White had declared their belief in a continuous, visible Church. Could we go on and say that it was infallible? That, it seems, was the point on which the lady desired satisfaction. The previous discussion had wandered off into "particular matters"; and, knowing the seventeenth-century delight in pursuing all kinds of controversy down the most devious paths, it is possible to feel some sympathy for the lady's weariness and impatience. She wanted a plain answer to a plain question. The form of the question was as skilfully suggested by the Jesuit, as it was welcome in its simplicity to the countess. "It was not for her, or any other unlearned persons, to take upon them to judge of particulars, without depending upon the judgement of the true Church." After all, if she can only be certain where the true Church is, she need bother her head no further about any religious problem. All that will remain will be to do as she is told.

The difference in the attitude of the two disputants is revealed at the outset, and also, perhaps, why it was so difficult to make much impression on the countess's mind. Laud agrees that it is right for people to look to the

judgement of the Church, and “yet neither Scripture, nor any good authority, denies them some moderate use of their own understanding and judgement, especially in things familiar and evident; which even ordinary capacities may as easily understand, as read. And therefore some particulars a Christian may judge without depending.” This of course is not to assert the complete sufficiency of private judgement, but it maintains that co-operative action of individual reason and authority, which is the characteristic of his thought, as it was of Hooker’s, and of the fathers of the Church.

Laud postpones any discussion as to whether the Catholic Militant Church is infallible, and seizes on the point that infallibility cannot be asserted of any particular Church. He knows, of course, what the Jesuit wishes to maintain, and he passes over his head to that great controversialist, who dominates the theological stage of Europe on the one side, as much as Calvin did on the other; Robert Bellarmine. This remarkable scholar was as symptomatic of his age as were the great Anglican divines. Born in Siena in 1542, he joined the Jesuits in Rome when he was eighteen, and devoted his life to the intellectual justification of the Papal claims.

His methods were not always to the taste of the Popes. His works were placed on the Index by Sixtus V. because he refused to say that the Pope was lord of the whole world. But he was a genuine scholar, who went to the study of the past to provide a basis of present faith. In him Laud and Andrewes, who were children of the Renaissance as he was, recognised a foeman worthy of their steel. Bellarmine's theory of the relation of the Pope to secular powers had a wide influence. He does not ascribe secular power to him of divine right. But he gives it him all the same.

Typical sentences of Bellarmine are the following :

The supreme pontiff is simply and absolutely above the Universal Church, and superior to general councils ; he is thus subjected to no jurisdiction on earth.

The Pope, as Pope, though possessing no mere temporal authority, yet for the purposes of spiritual good, has supreme power to dispose of the temporal matters of all Christians.

Bellarmino had said, " Not only is the Roman Pontiff unable to err, but also the particular Roman Church." Laud knows that the important question is not whether infallibility can be predicated of the Church as a whole, but whether inerrancy for all

time in matters of faith belongs to the Church of Rome. He is able quite easily to shew that the quotations from S. Cyprian, S. Jerome, S. Gregory Nazianzen and the rest support no such claim, and he carries the war into the enemies' camp. "The particular Church of Rome, and the Pope with it, erred it hath, and therefore may err." He instances the worship of images, and altering Christ's institution in the blessed Sacrament, by taking away the cup from the laity. He urges that even Bellarmine agreed that S. Peter's chair may be removed from Rome, and then that particular Church may err.

This brings up the question, Which is the infallible Church, and leads on to a consideration of the position of the Greek Church. The knowledge that there was a large part of the Christian Church in Eastern Europe which had never acknowledged the growing claims of the Papacy was, since the days of Jewel, always present to the minds of those who had undertaken the defence of the Anglican position. But its importance in the whole controversy was a fact of which Laud is peculiarly aware. The Jesuit tries to discount their witness by condemning them as unorthodox in the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Ghost. This had

become a fashionable point of Roman controversy, and was adopted by Bellarmine. But Laud has no difficulty in shewing that older authors thought differently. The great master of the sentences, Peter Lombard, whose work was the most esteemed text-book of the Middle Ages, had said, "the Greeks differ from us in expression, none the less they do not differ in meaning". Laud's spirit comes out in his plea that

it ought to be no easy thing to condemn a man of heresy in foundation of faith; much less a Church; least of all so ample and large a Church as the Greek, especially so as to make them no Church. . . . I must needs profess that I wish heartily . . . that those distressed men, whose cross is heavy already, had been more plainly and moderately dealt withal—though they think a diverse thing from us—than they have been by the Church of Rome.

The persecuted Eastern Churches appealed to Laud's imagination and sympathy, as, thank God, they have done to Englishmen, and especially to Laud's successor in the see of Canterbury, again to-day, when a persecution as fearful as that of the Turk has overtaken them. It helps to explain his zeal for the study of Oriental languages at Oxford.

But these are preliminary skirmishes. The main argument is now taken up. "What articles of faith are fundamental?"

The Roman position was that all points defined by the Church are fundamental ; to which Laud opposes the thesis that only the articles of the Creed come in this category. The Church has no power to add to or to take away from the foundation. " If the Church in a council define anything, the thing defined is not fundamental because the Church hath defined it." The business of the Church is to witness and to explain.

In all this Laud is able to appeal to an old and persistent theological tradition going back through Ockham to Augustine. The Church is founded on the Faith, not the Faith on the Church. It is her duty to guard the principles of faith, the *dogmata deposita*, and keep them unblemished and uncorrupted. But side by side with the Creed there is another principle of faith : indeed it is a preceding, prime principle of faith, namely the belief that Scripture is the word of God and infallible. Here Laud aligns himself with all Protestants, who " agree most truly and strongly in this", " That the Scripture is sufficient to salvation, and contains in it all things necessary to it". He is at pains to shew that in maintaining this he cannot be condemned as a " novelist". " The Fathers are plain, the Schoolmen not strangers to it." The position is, however,

not without difficulties. One raised by the Jesuit, that there is nothing about infant baptism in Scripture, is disposed of by pointing to passages which speak of the necessity of baptism, which justify the apostolical tradition.

The section which deals with the authority of Scripture is one of the most important in the book. It represents Laud's mature thought on a cardinal point, derived from long reflection subsequent to the debate. The accuracy of Scripture was held by the Romanists to depend upon the authority of the Church, and by the Church they mean the present Roman Church. This is absurd, for it says, in effect, that the present Church of Rome and her followers believe her own doctrine and tradition to be true and Catholic because she professes them to be such. But Laud is anxious to get some profounder method of establishing the books of Scripture to be the word of God. His unwillingness to subject his judgement to any merely human authority is significant and interesting. The authority of Scripture cannot be any testimony or voice of the Church alone. "For the Church consists of men subject to error." He agrees with Hooker that all the Church's constitutions are of the nature of human law.

The infallibility of Scripture does not rest upon its being written—an interesting point.

There are four grounds on which we say the Scripture is divine. The first is the testimony and witness of the Church and her tradition ; secondly, “ the Scripture may be known to be the word of God by the light and lustre which it hath in itself ” ; the grace of the Holy Spirit which seals this faith in the souls of men forms a third ground. And last comes the use of reason, since grace is never placed but in a reasonable creature. “ Reason can give no supernatural ground into which a man may resolve his faith, that Scripture is the word of God infallibly : yet reason can go so high as to prove that Christian religion, which rests upon the authority of this book, stands upon surer grounds of nature, reason, common equity and justice, than anything in the world which any infidel or mere naturalist hath done, doth or can adhere unto, against it.” Wherever Scripture has been received, it has approved itself as a good thing. The admirable faculty of reasoning has shewn men that this was the way to truth. As the various sciences suppose some principles without proving them, we may conclude that Theology is reasonable in giving the like authority to Scripture.

No one of these ways would be sufficient of itself to prove Scripture to be the word of God, they need not only to be taken together, but to be properly understood. We acknowledge the tradition of the present Church as useful, as it is the first persuading means to us to believe in the Scripture. The moral persuasion reason is also ground enough to move any reasonable man to read Scripture and to esteem it highly. "And this once done, the Scripture hath then in and home arguments enough to put a soul, that hath but ordinary grace, out of doubt." But here he gets near to one of his greatest difficulties. It is obvious that everybody does not recognise the divinity of Scripture by simply reading it. But it will be plain when the soul is morally prepared by the tradition of the Church. Hooker was right when he called that tradition the key that lets a man into the house, which, once seen, commends itself. The great difference between tradition and Scripture is this, "Scripture doth infallibly confirm the authority of Church traditions, truly so called; but tradition doth but morally and probably confirm the authority of the Scripture". This may be seen from S. Augustine and Vincent of Lerins, both upholders of tradition. Tradition is first

in order of time ; Scripture in order of nature.

The mysteries of divinity contained in this book, as the incarnation of our Saviour, the resurrection of the dead and the like, cannot finally be resolved into the testimony of the Church, which is but a subservient cause to lead to the knowledge of the author, but into the wisdom and sufficiency of the author, Who being omnipotent and omniscient, must needs be infallible.

Once Scripture is accepted, all other necessary points of divinity can be deduced from it. But naturally not the premiss itself, which must be assumed, that is, taken on trust. This is where the element of faith comes in, and such there must be if we are to know God. Laud follows the well-known argument of S. Thomas Aquinas — an argument that has much to be said for it. Reason can tell us that there is a God, but not what He is like. That only God can do Himself, and we may be sure that the all-wise God who has created the soul immortal and capable of felicity, which is nothing else than the contemplation of God Himself, will not leave it utterly destitute of all means of obtaining that felicity. A revelation then there must have been. A cloud of witnesses in all ages point to the Scripture as this revelation. The tradition of the Church, the light of nature,

and the light of the text itself converge to prove it.

It has been thought well to develop Laud's argument about Scripture at some length, because it is cardinal to his whole point of view, and covers more ground than the immediate controversy. The great question of the day in religion was, Where is the ultimate authority? Rome said in the decrees of the then existing Church—that is, in her own regulations. This obviously opened the door to subtle and complete transformations of the whole Christian outlook. The Brownists and other sectaries equally transmuted the main elements of the Christian faith, by claiming infallibility, not for the book, but for their private interpretation, or for the doctrines of Calvin. Laud's answer puts both these claims on one side. Scripture must not be tested by any man's opinions, neither those of the Pope, nor those of Calvin. It is itself the test, and the true interpretation is that placed on it from the earliest times. Its main points are determined in the Apostles' Creed.

His argument may not seem persuasive at first sight to those who have been nurtured on a critical view of the Bible. That was a view, of course, impossible to any man of that

time. But this attitude to the Bible was essentially a reasonable one. On the one hand he says, let us only accept as Divine oracles what converging testimony approves. He draws a clear distinction where faith is concerned between that which is of obligation and that which is useful or convenient. In this connection his attitude to miracles is interesting. They are great inducements of belief, but not of themselves convincing proofs. Faith is quickened by the teaching itself. On the other hand he sets religion and the acceptance of Scripture on a basis of reason. He had a bitter experience of those who claimed to settle every deep problem by an appeal to direct illumination. He knows that if a man is to have religion, he must accept something as a basis. But he does not wish him to accept blindly, or to surrender the use of his intelligence after he has accepted. In this, of course, he follows Hooker, his great master, and the finest medieval tradition. He is fighting the battle of a reasonable faith, and in it makes himself two adversaries, the Jesuit and the Puritan.

The mental virility of his position may be judged from the discomfort that it caused "the Lady", who was as far as possible from wishing to use her mind. She returns to her

parrot cry. She is still hankering after her infallible Church. The Jesuit urges her to ask, Whether the Roman Church is the right Church? Laud's answer is that the Roman Church is not *the* Church in the sense of being the only true Church, or even the root and ground of the Catholic Church. He grants, as many learned Protestants had done, that it was a true Church, because it "receives the Scripture as a rule of faith, though but as a partial and imperfect rule, and both the sacraments as instrumental causes and seals of grace, though they add more, and misuse these". But it is not a right Church, since it errs in many things. This naturally brings up the question, Was not the Roman Church the right Church before Luther's time, and, if so, why did the Protestants leave it? To which Laud answers that it was a corrupted and tainted Church, and that the departure of the Protestants was not voluntary.

Some on both sides were unfortunately peevish and ignorantly zealous. But the main body of Protestants protested not against the Church of Rome, but against its errors and superstitions. The Universal Church cannot err in fundamentals; but the particular Church of Rome has erred in this way. If that Church will mend its ways, the Church

of England will gladly return to unity. Until such reformation a particular Church may reform anything that is not Catholic, so long as it does it peaceably and orderly, and keeps itself to the foundation, and free from sacrileges.

But if one Church says another is in error, Who is to judge ? The answer agreed on by both disputants is, “ the Whole Church ” ; but in different senses. The Jesuit maintains that the Church of Rome is the principal and mother Church. Laud develops a learned and weighty argument to prove that this claim is the whole cause of the trouble. The Roman jurisdiction has forced as much of the Universal Church as it could get under its power to embrace its errors, and sums up his position,

The Protestants have not left the Church of Rome in her essence, but in her errors ; not in the things which constitute a Church, but only in such abuses and corruptions as work towards the dissolution of a Church.

And so the whole Church must judge between the two ; and the whole Church means a General Council, which is a visible and living judge, though not infallible. But a General Council is difficult to get, and, when called, difficult to bring to agreement.

The Jesuit says the Pope is the divinely appointed means of unity. But Laud will not have it. Scripture alone is infallible in regard to essential beliefs, and the Papacy has conspicuously failed to produce unity. The Church is not a monarchy, and needs no one bishop over all the world, any more than one emperor is needed over all kingdoms. The government of the Church is by bishops. Where a General Council may not be had, national and provincial synods must undertake reform. The Jesuit maintains that there has been a General Council, namely that held at Trent. But Laud will not accept a Council that did not even represent the West, and was not recognised by the Eastern Church.

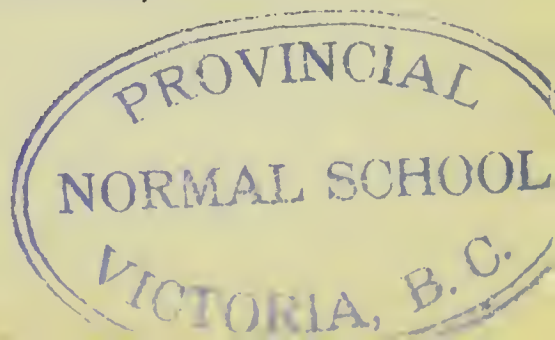
Laud maintains that a General Council may err, though the whole Church cannot. Its conclusions may be revised by a later Council. All the decisions of a Council must be tested by Scripture. By applying this test we can see that the Council of Constance erred, when it said that to communicate in both kinds was not necessary. A Council is subordinate to the whole Church, which always retains power to represent herself in a new Council, and in it to order what is amiss. If a General Council is not infallible, still less

are the Popes, as can be shewn by the errors in the teaching of more than one of them. It is interesting to see what points Laud seizes on. Transubstantiation is one, which was never heard of in the primitive Church, and cannot be proved from Scripture. Communion in one kind is another. Invocation of Saints is a third. If the saints were regarded as mediators of intercession it might be tolerable ; to plead their merits before God, as is done in the Missal, is intolerable. The Adoration of Images is another point. " The modern Church of Rome is too like to paganism in the practice of it, and driven to scarce intelligible subtleties in her servants' writings that defend it." He is sorry to use so harsh a phrase, but he is able to point to Spanish practices that make it just, and these reduce even learned writers to sad shifts in their attempts to justify them.

The reader will perhaps not be surprised that the Lady grew weary of an argument that seemed to her, no doubt, to be interminable. She got up and once more attempted to bring it down to the narrow point in which she was interested. She asks Laud whether she might be saved in the Roman faith, and apparently got from him some answer which implied that she might. The Jesuit was quick

to seize on the admission and bade her "Mark that". Laud's memory does not enable him to recall precisely what passed at the end of the long day's discussion. But he is quite sure that he must have told her that there was no higher degree of certainty in the Roman Church than in the English, and that if you had been brought up in the latter you ought to stay in it.

He opens a window on the methods of Roman controversialists in those times. They would point to the fact that many Protestants confessed that there might be salvation in the Roman Church, whereas the Romans denied that there could be any amongst the Protestants. Therefore, they said, it was safer to be where almost all grant salvation, than where the greater part of the world deny it. It is easy to see how this argument might appeal to those whose motto in religion was "safety first", and the Bishop says, "The argument is very prevailing with men that cannot weigh it, and with women especially, that are put in fear by violent, though causeless, denying heaven unto them." The incident is valuable also because it reveals the divergence between the intolerance of the Counter Reformation Roman School and the more Christian, as well as more rational, view



which Laud did so much to establish as part of the Anglican tradition. He refuses to deny salvation to any "ignorant, silly souls whose peaceable obedience makes them safe among any part of men that profess the foundation". This, as he says, was an old trick of the Donatists.

Laud preferred to stand on the Catholic platform, and he turns the tables on the Jesuit, in an argument which is valuable because it shews us what Laud's doctrine of the Eucharist was, by saying that if it were to be followed, it is safer to be in the Church of England. "All sides agree with her that in the most Blessed Sacrament, the worthy receiver is, by his faith, made spiritually partaker of the true and real Body and Blood of Christ, truly and really"; whereas many deny the opinion of Transubstantiation which Roman Catholics add to the manner of this His presence, and still more that other opinion of Consubstantiation held by the Lutherans. Laud does not believe in appealing mechanically to the beliefs of the majority. Here, however, it is right. He maintains that it is true to say that rightly understood most Protestants neither deny nor doubt the true and real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Lutherans obviously do not;

no more really do the Calvinists ; and he quotes several places to prove Calvin's use of the words " truly " and " really ".

Laud shews that he had a clearer understanding of the Anglican belief in the sixteenth century than many later—even learned—writers have had. He quotes two of the Marian martyrs to shew that they maintained the real presence. Especially important is his reference to Cranmer, who says that Christ is in very deed and effectually present. As Laud rightly points out, Cranmer admits that he was inclining to the opinion of Zwingli, until Bishop Ridley convinced his judgement. Ridley himself put the matter in exactly the way that Laud desired to do.

" Both you and I ", he said, " agree herein : That in the sacrament is the very true and natural Body and Blood of Christ, even that which was born of the Virgin Mary, which ascended into heaven, which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, which shall come from thence to judge the quick and the dead ; only we differ *in modo*, ' in the way and manner of being ' : we confess all one thing to be in the Sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I confess Christ's natural body to be in the sacrament by spirit and grace. You make a grosser kind of being, enclosing a natural, a lively and a moving Body, under the shape and form of bread and wine."

Laud knew quite well where he stood in

a controversy that had racked Christendom for a hundred years ; he followed the great stream of teaching which Cranmer and Ridley passed on from the Middle Ages, and which is the official teaching of the Anglican Church. He believed in the reality of the gift and of the presence absolutely. But he regarded it as a true mystery, and refused to dissolve that mystery by any metaphysical explanation on the one hand, or by any blank denial of the mysterious reality on the other. His attitude in the matter is illustrated by his private devotions.

“ I quarrel not the words of Thy Son my Saviour’s blessed Institution. I know His words are no gross unnatural conceit, but they are spirit and life, and supernatural. While the world disputes, I believe.” “ Lord, make me worthy of that for which I come—Christ, and remission of sin in Christ.” “ O Lord God, how I receive the Body and Blood of my most blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, the price of my redemption, is the very wonder of my soul, yet my most firm and constant belief upon the words of my Saviour.”

Here as elsewhere what Laud desired was simple faith, and liberty of interpretation.

The arguments of the earlier part are repeated in the later. Before he closes Laud reasserts his belief that the Church of England, by emphasising only what is essential, follows

the safer way. It is the Universal Church that he believes in, and in that the Anglican Church shares more truly than the Roman. Scripture and the Creeds give us all we need to found our faith on.

Laud saw that if separation from the Roman Church was to be justified it could only be done by proving that a more truly Catholic way had been found, and one that recognised the claims both of authority and of reason. He was not afraid to criticise and to apply the test of truth. He never allowed himself to be duped by the subtle use of the word Catholic when Roman was meant. In substance, if not in form, his argument is the only one that can still be used.

Passionately attached to the unity of Christ's Church he saw the Papacy as a divisive force. "While they seek to tie all Christians to Rome, by a divine precept, their ambition is one and a main cause, that Jerusalem, even the whole Church of Christ, is not 'at unity in itself' this day."

CHAPTER IV

LAUD IN POWER

LAUD continued to be smiled on by the king, and he became increasingly influential with Buckingham. He was genuinely fond of the brilliant and reckless duke. He watched over him in sickness, and endeavoured to keep some spiritual interest alive in the mercurial and impetuous man of fashion and wealth. There can be no doubt that the feeling was reciprocated. Laud had apparently little to do with the mad adventure which drew Charles and Buckingham to Spain to win the Infanta for the prince. But he followed them anxiously with his prayers, and intervened to make careful provision for the ordering of the chapel that Charles was to use while in Madrid. It was necessary to shew that the prince believed in his Church and that no change of religion was designed, and so the English tradition was to be exhibited in its proper dignity. There was to be an

altar, decently covered, with candlesticks and tapers ; and surplices and copes for the clergy. The sermons were not to be polemical, but to confirm the doctrine of the Church of England. All this was later charged as evidence of Popery against Laud ; it is hard to say whether more by malice or stupidity, for the Puritan incapacity to understand what it was attacking was immeasurable.

We hear of jealousies at Court. Abbott tries to keep Laud out of the High Commission. The Lord Keeper and the Bishop of S. David's are not on the best of terms ; Williams envies Laud's influence with the all-powerful duke, but is persuaded to more polite behaviour. But Heylyn shrewdly remarks that from henceforth there was " but an appearance of fair weather between these great persons, though at last it brake out more violently into open storms ".

The great change in Laud's life came with the death of King James. He at once stepped into relations of the utmost intimacy with the new king. The Lord Keeper preached the sermon at the funeral of the late monarch, which was afterwards published under the title of *Great Britain's Solomon*, but he fell out of favour. The new king's concern for the Church and his confidence in Laud were

shewn by his ordering the Bishop of S. David's to draw up a list of divines with the letters O and P attached, so that he might know which were Orthodox and which Puritan. A few days later Laud was chosen to preach the sermon at the opening of Parliament, and the arrangements for the coronation were placed in his hands instead of those of Williams, who, as Dean of Westminster, would naturally have had the care of the matter. In all these things Laud was bidden to consult the Bishop of Winchester, Lancelot Andrewes, the saint and scholar, who represented the revival of the religion of learning and dignity more completely than any other. To this alliance it is due that the form used for the coronation—"the most punctual since the Conquest" as was noted at the time—has remained the basis of all subsequent sacrings of English monarchs.

But the accession of Charles I. was as much a turning-point in the life of the nation as in the life of Laud. At the time it hardly seemed to be such. We are so accustomed to regard the figure of Charles as a symbol of intolerant absolutism that we are apt to forget that he was no innovator in political doctrine. We must beware of reading into

the minds of either King or Parliament ideas which could not have found a lodgement there. Charles made no claim for the royal authority which had not been consistently made since the days of Henry VIII. The Wars of the Roses had decimated the old nobility, and he and his successors had been the real and effective governors of the country with the aid of a few chosen ministers. When the king was weak, as in Edward VI.'s reign, the ministers really ruled, but the theory did not alter. The last of the Tudors, though a woman, had in some ways been the most absolute and powerful of the whole house. James I. had followed in the same line. He took pains to keep his Parliaments at a distance ; often deliberately retiring, when they met, to Theobald's, or some other country house, to emphasise the fact that if they needed anything they were to come to him, rather than he to them. When he did meet Parliament he would sometimes rate the members soundly ; when Parliament would not do what he wanted, he dismissed it. So decided an opponent of Charles as Mrs. Hutchinson, the intrepid wife of the Parliamentary General, has borne unwilling witness to the improvement that Charles's accession brought into English life.

The face of the court was much changed in the change of the King, for King Charles was temperate, chaste, and serious ; so that the fools and bawds, mimics and catamites, of the former court, grew out of fashion ; and the nobility and courtiers, who did not quite abandon their debaucheries, yet so revered the king as to retire into corners to practise them. Men of learning and ingenuity in all arts were in esteem, and received encouragement from the king, who was a most excellent judge and a great lover of paintings, carvings, gravings, and many other ingenuities, less offensive than the bawdry and profane abusive wit which was the only exercise of the other court.

Two things, however, put Charles in an unfortunate position. The first was his own temperament. He was shy, reserved and inflexible where he thought fundamental principle to be involved. His very qualities were from the political point of view defects. In an unbuttoned moment, when he was Prince of Wales, he had said to Laud, that he could not be a lawyer. “ I cannot ”, saith he, “ defend a bad, nor yield in a good cause.” Something of the suppleness of the lawyer, which Elizabeth had possessed, was necessary, if the position of the crown was to be maintained. Charles was prevented from practising it, not only by temperament, but also by the overwhelming sacredness that he believed inhered in his office. To have

bent would have been to be unfaithful to God, Who placed this great responsibility upon him.

The depth and sincerity of his religion no fair-minded person can question. It was observed with satisfaction, at the outset of his reign, that he was "very attentive and devout at prayer and sermons". He always remained so. It is true that there appeared, as time went on, a curious hesitancy, and even what we can hardly avoid calling slipperiness in dealing with crises. But the explanation is to be found in the baffling surprise with which he saw himself surrounded by men who could not be trusted. He was conscious of his own integrity, certain of the rightness of his principles and the patriotism of his aims. When he saw all his actions misunderstood, and often maliciously distorted, a wistful disdain took possession of him, and he becomes a pathetic figure, driven hither and thither by the forces of hate. In his pictures you can see the quiet contempt, the pained surprise that he felt for people to whom all the beauty of painting and music, and architecture and religion, that meant so much to him, were either things of nought or the works of the devil. He had much excuse for supposing himself to be the last bulwark against the vulgarisation of the national life.

He dimly perceived, as time went on, that he was opposed by elements that would not rest content till they had overturned all that made life gracious, elements whose opposition to his absolutism was inspired by a desire to put in its place one much more savage and tyrannical. He had affinities with Louis XVI. and Nicholas II., and who shall say that all the right is on one side in the great arguments of life and death in which these three monarchs played a tragic part?

Charles's second difficulty was that he was born in a wrong hour. History, or at any rate historians, find it difficult to forgive those who are on the losing side, and it has been the custom to suppose that he was on the losing side. But was he? For what exactly is he to be blamed? He can hardly be blamed for upholding the principle of the authority of the State. At that time it was widely felt that the majesty of kingship was necessary for the maintenance of such authority, not only in England but in Europe generally, and any one who followed the currents of thought in France or Spain or Germany might be excused for supposing that the dynastic theory held the welfare of the future in store. There was a republic in Holland, but it was evolving into something

like a monarchy. It is no doubt partly true to say that Charles's mistake lay in not seeing when concessions were necessary, in refusing to associate with his own power the new classes who were rising in wealth and the power that wealth brings, and in failing to understand that men would no longer be taxed without having some share in the disposition of the money raised by taxation.

But is this all the truth? It is at least as possible to maintain that no concessions would, as things were, have really made any difference. It is hardly possible to deny that really revolutionary forces were at work in the political and in the ecclesiastical sphere; it is highly probable that a Menshevik regime would have been followed by a period of Bolshevism. In revolutions the determined minorities are what matter. They know what they want, and they often get it, with the aid of the Whigs. There were various issues to be determined. There was republicanism or monarchy; there was a reformed Catholicism or the reign of "the Saints"; there was also the question whether money was to rule the State, or the State as represented by the constitutional organs of its authority, was to rule money. And it is impossible to understand any of the great controversies

without remembering one profound principle that underlay all serious thought on government in that day. The source of all law, of all order, is God Himself, and therefore all constituted authority had a kind of sacredness which it is difficult for us to appreciate. Such a view gave depth and earnestness to life, but it undoubtedly also made deep cleavages, hard to bridge. The Laudian and the Puritan both believed that they were contending for the fulfilment of the Divine Will on the human stage. But the difference between them was that the Laudian held that God's authority was expressed in different spheres and kinds of law. Hence their doctrine of the divine right of kings side by side with that of the divine authority of the Catholic Church. The Puritan, denying free-will, natural law and the use of reason, saw the law of God in the Bible only.

Laud no doubt said what was in Charles's mind, when he preached his first sermon before the new king.

These three, God, the King, and the Church, that is, God, His Spouse, and His Lieutenant upon earth, are so near allied,—God and the Church in love, God and the King in power, the King and the Church in mutual dependence upon God, and subordination to Him,—that no man can serve any one of them truly, but he serves all three.

Monarchy was most divine because most permanent. Justice there may be under other forms, but not so steady.

The factions of an aristocracy how often have they divided the city into civil wars, and made that city which was "at unity in itself", wade in her own blood? And for a democracy, or popular government, *fluctus populi fluctus maris*, the waves and gulfs of both are alike. None but God can "rule the raging of the sea, and the madness of the people". And no safety or settledness, till there be a return *in domum David*, to a monarchy, and a King again.

Charles began his reign by summoning a parliament. He at once found himself in difficulties. A war was in progress with Spain. It had been welcomed with delirious delight by the House of Commons. But it was very expensive; and when it came to paying for it, they were of another mind. The king demanded a subsidy, and was astonished to find that a trifling sum was voted. No doubt the Commons were suspicious of Buckingham. They wished to be taken into closer consultation over foreign affairs. But it is hard to resist the impression that, as at many times since, they really did not bother about foreign policy, except when some immediate danger threatened. They had very little idea of the currents of thought and the alignment of forces on the Continent,

probably less than had the king and Buckingham.

Charles was persuaded that Spain was a dangerous power. He wished to unite the Protestant forces ; but he knew that they were not strong enough to resist the combined power of Spain and the Empire without the assistance of France. This explains why he had tried to win an alliance with that country by choosing the French king's sister as his wife. If France had been reliable the plan might have succeeded. But there was a complication ; Louis was a convinced Catholic, and Henrietta Maria no less so. In order to secure the marriage Charles had been compelled to promise an easier time for Roman Catholics in England. If he had been able to say that he had obtained a *quid pro quo* from Louis in the shape of a similar toleration of Huguenots, his position, face to face with Parliament, might have been stronger. But this was not possible. His difficulties were increased by the fact that he had promised Parliament that the laws against recusants should not be relaxed. He was in a quandary, made all the worse by the fact that Parliament had got Roman Catholicism on the brain.

It may be granted that there was excuse. Mary's reign had left its indelible mark ; the

Jesuit machinations against Elizabeth had deepened prejudice ; the idiocy of the Gunpowder Plot had naturally caused a great alarm. The Roman Catholics could be always counted on to choose the moment when sensible people were moving towards a more tolerant attitude to perpetrate some blazing folly, calculated to throw even wiser heads into fanatical reaction. The Spanish ambassador was always ready to offer proofs that Catholicism and intrigue were inseparable.

And yet, when all is said, it is only possible to use one word to describe the normal attitude of the House of Commons towards this problem, and that word is hysteria. They felt about Romanism much as many of their modern successors feel about Bolshevism. The thought of it deprived them of the use of their reason ; they saw the hidden hand everywhere ; they paid it the compliment of supposing that it was endowed with a power and an intelligence which it was very far from possessing. Many doubtless were sincere in these beliefs ; but some undoubtedly found in the ascription of Romanism to the king and the Church that supported him a convenient stick to beat an enemy, without staying to inquire how true were the wild accusations that they so freely made. And

so it came about that the one thing that dominated Charles's first parliaments was the religious question. Eliot and Pym became the spokesmen. They demanded unity in religion, by which was chiefly meant no mercy for Roman Catholics. At least that was the ostensible purpose ; but it is difficult not to feel behind this rhetoric that a different quarry is aimed at with the useful weapon of an appeal to prejudice.

An incident occurred quite early in the reign which reveals the true situation, and throws a flood of light on many subsequent debates and arguments. Richard Montagu, the Rector of Stanford Rivers in Essex, found that some Jesuits were busy among his parishioners, and in order to counter their efforts he left some propositions at the house of one of them, " who had been frequently visited with these Night-Spirits ", saying that " if any of those which ranged that walk could convince him in any of the same, he would immediately subscribe and be a Papist ". This called forth a pamphlet from one of them with the engaging title, *A Gag, for the New Gospell*. To which Montagu replied with another bearing the even livelier name, *A New Gag for an Old Goose*. He was a learned man, a Bachelor of Divinity and

Fellow of Eton ; but he knew how to cast his learning in a form that would reach the popular ear, and his discourse matched his title. It is worth while to consider some of his main points.

In answer to the Gagger's charge that Anglicans said, We must not confess our sins but only unto God, Montagu expounded the Prayer Book position.

The most that has been said, is, that private confession is free, not tyed . . . of conveniency, not of absolute necessity. . . . It is confessed that all Priests, and none but Priests, have power to forgive sinnes : It is confessed, that private Confession unto a Priest is of very ancient practice in the Church : of excellent use and practice, being discreetly handled. Wee refuse it to none, if men require it, if neede be to have it. We urge it and perswade it in extreames : Wee require it in case of perplexities, for the quieting of men disturbed, and their consciences.

And he is able to appeal to Dr. Overall, Bishop of Norwich, in support.

Another example will show Montagu's style and also why the doctrine he taught was offensive.

So large was God's Mercy, so enlarged his Love, that out of his good pleasure it was his will, *All men to bee saved, and to come to knowledge of the Truth.* Shew a contrary resolution of the Church of

England, and gag up my mouth, Sir Goose, for ever : else goe gaggle on the Green.

To the charge that Protestants said that the saints pray not for us, he said all would agree that they did. But we dare not entreat the saints to pray for us, for we have no proof that they know our state.

Proove but onely this, *Their knowledge of any thing ordinarily* ; I promise you straight, I will say, *Holy Saint Mary, pray for me* : till then you must pardon us Protestants, for not playing the fool with you.

The *New Gag* contained nothing that could not be justified from the Prayer Book or Articles. But its author refused to call the Pope Anti-Christ, or to adhere to the extremist form of predestination.

This got Montagu into trouble. The Puritan preachers smelt Popery and, what was almost as bad, Arminianism. So Montagu followed up his earlier efforts by a weightier volume in which he appealed for protection to the king. *Appello Caesarem*, as the book was called, became the subject of a debate in the House of Commons, and a committee of country gentlemen sat in judgement on doctrines which shocked by their newness as much as by the vivacity with which they were expressed. Members made

themselves ridiculous by saying that the book was dishonouring to the late king, though James had expressed his agreement with Montagu's views. Another charge that they brought against him—that he was disturbing Church and State—was discussed with avidity by the House of Commons, who had no doubt of their theological competence, and turned to debates on such subjects as a pleasant relief from denouncing monopolies, and refusing subsidies. In the end the affair blew over, and the pursuit of Buckingham occupied all their attention.

Laud records that the king intervened on Montagu's behalf; Heylyn tells us that Bishops Buckeridge and Howson and Laud himself had written protesting against the Commons' behaviour. They perceived that two important points were raised, on which it was necessary to make a stand. It was necessary to defend liberty of opinion on secondary matters. The Church of England had ever refused to "be too busy with every particular School-Point". There were things in the book on which they desired "more liberty for learned men to abound in their own sense"; the rest was orthodox. It was necessary also to assert that the National Synod, or Convocation, and not Parliament was the right body

to judge of these matters. Freedom of thought and the freedom of the Church were both in peril. The two great contributions made by Laud to English religious life were thus foreshadowed in his handling of this famous case. A struggle was beginning that is only being resolved in our own day.

It is interesting to notice that the three bishops in fact thought it wiser not to bring the affair of Montagu before Convocation, not being at all sure that things would go as they wished. Their party was growing, but was far from dominant. But the king took up the cudgels. He published a proclamation—by the advice of his bishops, of whom Laud no doubt was the most influential—warning his subjects (especially the clergy) to carry themselves warily,

neither by writing, preaching, printing, conferences, or otherwise to raise any doubts, publish or maintain any new inventions or opinions concerning religion, than such as are clearly grounded and warranted by the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England heretofore published, and happily established by authority.

These words were of course capable of two interpretations. But there was soon no doubt what was meant. Laud was in the High Commission now, and he set about putting

the proclamation into practice. Printers and authors were questioned, and among them two Puritans, who afterwards frequently had a like experience, Prynne, the crotchety lawyer of Lincoln's Inn, and Burton, who, it was said, had gone over to the Puritan side through failure to become Clerk of the Closet, when Laud was appointed.

On the 26th of July 1626 Laud was advanced to the Bishopric of Bath and Wells, and he loyally repaid the growing confidence replaced in him by the king. Charles was experiencing great difficulty in obtaining help from the Commons for the support of the war against the Roman Catholic powers. They had refused subsidies and attacked Buckingham as the enemy of Church and State.

Until this great person be removed from intermeddling with the great affairs of State, we are out of hope of any good success; and do fear that any money we shall or can give will, through his misemployment, be turned rather to the hurt and prejudice of this your kingdom than otherwise.

Charles was faced with a request that neither James nor Elizabeth nor Henry VIII. would have listened to. The lists were set. The great struggle had begun. Ought Charles to have given up Buckingham? Probably; but it is impossible not to remember that when

he later abandoned nobler and better counsellors, it availed him nothing. But by that time the Scots had come upon the scene.

There hangs over the whole story from this point onwards a dark cloud of tragedy, as though unseen powers were pushing two great forces by inevitable steps to a deadly and inescapable collision. Both sides were striving for good things ; it is hard to see how any better state could emerge until the weaknesses and faults of each had been disclosed in a final conflict. Charles was genuinely anxious to uphold the dignity of England in Europe, and to that end to see her equipped with a fine fleet and a powerful army. He felt, perhaps rightly, that he knew more of foreign affairs than did these citizens and country gentlemen. Yet Wentworth's instinct, which led him to desire to keep out of European quarrels, was probably sounder. Charles's foreign policy is difficult to follow. It may even be called tortuous. In that it was not unlike the diplomacy of many monarchs of his age and of many republics since. But it can hardly be called futile. He at one time seems to be combining with Sweden, at another with France, at another with the Emperor. It was by no means determined merely by a desire to restore his sister's

husband, and later her son, to the Palatinate which was rightfully his, though, of course, he was strongly influenced by a motive which was directed not only by natural affection, but also by regard for the prestige of England.

Two things in regard to his foreign policy are clear, and reflect no discredit on the intelligence of its author. He was thoroughly alive to the danger which threatened the English coast from a union between France and the growing naval power of Holland. He had made peace with France, but he desired to have, as it were, re-insurance arrangements with other powers. He saw, as clearly as his father did, that an attempt to found a foreign policy on religion, which might have appealed to the ignorant Puritan faction, was, in the realities of Europe, absurd. He was feeling after that balance of power which in later years was to become the most venerated doctrine of parliamentary diplomacy; and he did not allow the Palatinate to interfere with it.

The other thing that is quite clear about Charles's policy is that its greatest weakness lay in the lack of support that he received from his own people. When the representatives of the Emperor, trying to persuade the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria that it would

be a good thing to have Charles as an ally of the Empire, urged that the English fleet was a valuable asset, he simply replied that you could not rely on its being kept long at sea, because the public would not contribute to its support. This fatal defect prevented entirely a strong English foreign policy.

If there was to be a strong foreign policy, it depended upon national unity; there was a deep cleavage, which made the course upon which Charles was set impossible, even if it were right. He knew domestic unity was vital, and he appealed to the Church to help him to achieve it. Laud has an entry in his diary under September 14, 1626:

Thursday evening, The Duke of Buckingham willed me to form certain Instructions, partly ecclesiastical, in the cause of the King of Denmark, a little before brought into great straits by General Tilly, to be sent through all parishes. Certain heads were delivered to me. He would have them made ready by Saturday following. I made them ready, and brought them at the appointed hour. I read them to the Duke. He brought me to the King. I, being so commanded, read them again. Each of them approved them. Sunday, they were read before the Lords of the Privy Council; and were (thanks be to God) approved by them all.

We see how the government was carried on in the days of prerogative. The king

depends upon an inner ring of advisers ; Laud is valued for his power of writing, his clear grasp of principle and for his industry—we can picture him spending that Friday getting the Instructions into shape, and imparting his own fervent conviction to them. They are then brought to the Council, who know better than to disapprove ; indeed, they probably shared the sentiments or thought it a valuable use of pious feeling. The Council then commissioned Laud to send them to the two Archbishops, requiring them to send them throughout their provinces. Thus were the pulpits tuned.

The Instructions recall Laud's sermon and are a further illustration of the view of the relation between Church and State which Laud, like Hooker, had inherited from the Middle Ages, a view that was passed on to be turned to such different uses in the nineteenth century.

We have observed that the Church and the State are so nearly united and knit together, that though they may seem two bodies, yet indeed in some relation they may be accounted but as one, inasmuch as they are both made up of the same men, which are differenced only in relation to Spiritual or Civil ends.

The more logical Puritans were fast being driven to see that there were two bodies, not

one, but most of them, and those who supported them in Parliament, would have rejected that doctrine as firmly as did Laud.

Further preferment soon came to reward his valuable service. On September 25, 1626, the venerated Andrewes died. When Laud calls him "the great light of the Christian world" he is but expressing the general opinion about a prelate in whom there seemed to live again one of the great doctors of the Church; "so venerable in his Presence, so grave in his Motions, so pious in his Conversation, so primitive in all".

The office of Dean of the Chapel-Royal thus became vacant. Laud was appointed to it, and quickly used the opportunity of the more pastoral relation in which he was placed to the king to effect an improvement in the royal habits. It had been the custom in King James's time for the service to be cut off when the king came into his closet, which overlooked the chapel, and for the preacher to go straight to the pulpit. Laud's sense of reverence was offended, and he had not been many weeks in office before he records—

I desired his Majesty King Charles, that he would please to be present at prayers as well as sermon every Sunday, and that at whatsoever part of the prayers he came, the Priest then officiating might

proceed to the end of the prayers. The most religious King not only assented to this request, but also gave me thanks. This had not before been done from the beginning of K. James's reign to this day. Now, thanks be to God, it obtaineth.

Another milestone, the eager little man feels, on the road to a restored order and seemliness in religion.

But it was easier to manage the king than his people. The sermons on unity had no success; and the loan that they were intended to promote was strenuously opposed. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Abbott, refused to license the publication of a sermon, urging the lawfulness of the king's imposing taxes by his own royal power, and found himself sequestered from his office, which was put into commission, in the hands of five bishops, of whom, of course, Laud was one, and Buckeridge and Neile others. It must have been galling indeed to Laud's old adversary. The Commission lost no time in promoting reformation. Abbott had neglected the Church, and could not see that anything mattered so long as the pure word of Calvinism was being proclaimed. In many places there was neither that nor anything else. Altars were now restored, and about this time Cosin, then a Prebendary of

Durham, brought out his *Collection of Private Devotions, or the Hours of Prayer*, to act as a counter-attraction to the books of offices which the Romanists were spreading about at court. It startled some moderate people by being modelled on the Canonical Hours, though there was nothing specifically Roman in it. Prynne got hold of it, and published *A Brief Survey and Censure of Cozens his Cozening Devotions*, 1628, which for sheer prejudice and disingenuousness would be hard to beat even in that age. But a new crisis was near.

CHAPTER V

LAUD AT THE HELM

LAUD was nominated to the Bishopric of London on June 17, 1627. His public conspicuousness now more nearly corresponded to his real position, and he preached the sermon with which Parliament opened, though an accident caused by running to his coach disabled him. He was always injuring himself in some way; it was in keeping with his character that he should be impetuous and reckless in his movements. His subject was the importance of unity,

a very charitable tie, but better *known* than *loved*; a thing so good, that it was never broken but by the worst men; nay, so good it was, that the very worst men pretended best when they broke it; and that it was so in the Church, never yet Heretick renting her Bowels, but he pretended that he raked them for truth; that it was so also in the State, seldom any *unquiet Spirit* dividing her *Union*, but he pretends some *great abuses*, which his integrity would remedy.

The words were sincere. Each side cared passionately for unity. The point was

wherein was its basis to be found? Laud believed that it resided in the sacred office of the crown. It was the traditional view. It was shared by a majority of Englishmen then; it is the view that has survived to find in the crown the bond of a wider England overseas than was then dreamed of. But the question that was agitating men's minds then was whether the bond of unity is to be found in the king acting alone, or even the king acting with his chosen ministers. Was it not rather to be found in the crown taking into consultation not only his ministers, but those who were the representatives of his people? This was the theory that Henry VIII. had proclaimed.

We be informed by our judges that we at no time stand so highly in our estate royal as in the time of parliament, wherein we as head and you as members are conjoined and knit together in one body politic.

That the head should act without the members was leading some to look upon the crown more as an apple of discord than as a bond of unity. And so Laud's exhortation fell on deaf ears.

The king wanted money. The Commons refused to give it until their grievances were remedied. There were military grievances, arising from the billeting of soldiers; but the

thing that irked most was the king's claim to imprison, without cause given, those who had refused to subscribe to the loan. Eliot's rhetoric won much support for the theory that everybody's property was in danger — "not alone our lands and goods are engaged, but all that we call ours". That Wentworth's more balanced and vigorous intellect felt the same concern proved that sober men felt real apprehension. Coke tried to prove that the law was much more consistent than it was. There were long debates, during which Wentworth tried to find a course that would reconcile the king's position with the desire of the Commons to preserve the Constitution. But the revolutionary spirits who were working for the complete domination of the House of Commons were growing stronger. In the end, through dire financial need, the king had to give his assent to a Petition of Right, which made a forced loan illegal, and forbade the imprisonment of a man without trial. In order to view the controversy in a right perspective it is necessary to remember that the point of Charles's claim throughout was that in a grave emergency governments have to take unusual powers into their hands.

One of the preachers who had roused the

ire of the Commons, Dr. Roger Manwaring, had urged an incontrovertible truth. "If they would consider the importunities that often may be urgent, and pressing necessities of State that cannot stay without certain and apparent danger for the nation and revolution of so great and vast a body as such assemblies are, nor yet abuse their long and pausing deliberation when they are assembled", they would see that the king (who was, of course, the executive) must be able to use larger powers than were legal in normal times.

To this Wentworth agreed. Charles believed the French war to be such a grave emergency. The Commons, on the other hand, did not. They thought, and rightly, that it had been grossly mismanaged (though they conveniently forgot that they had refused the necessary money); they questioned the wisdom of the war, and many of them were coming to be firmly of the opinion that whether such emergency powers were legitimate or not, Charles was not the man to whom they could commit them. They saw Buckingham as the villain of the piece, and the rising tide of fury against his arrogance and incompetence broke out into open attacks. The following August Buckingham was murdered by a fanatic. The tragedy widened the

breach between the king and the Commons, because Charles found it hard to forgive the bitter speeches which undoubtedly had caused Felton to think that he was removing an enemy of his country, when he struck down the royal favourite. Laud had not favoured the publication of Manwaring's sermons. But mutterings began to be heard about him in Parliament, which was beginning now to concentrate on the supposed Arminians, by which were meant the bishops and others who refused to accept Calvin as the standard of orthodoxy.

The death of Buckingham marks an important period in the history of Charles and Laud. The king from now on attempts to rule without Parliament, and Laud, in the words of Heylyn, ceases to be "an inferior Minister in the Ship of State. . . . Now he is called to the Helm". Laud having replaced the overbearing and reckless Buckingham, we become conscious of a different spirit in the direction of affairs.

Sir Richard Weston, the Lord Treasurer, was a strength to the Government. Careful and economical (yet not above using his position to enrich himself), the king trusted him absolutely in finance ; and according to Clarendon he "carried himself so luckily in

parliament, that he did his master much service, and preserved himself in the good opinion and acceptation of the house: which," as Clarendon shrewdly adds, "is a blessing not indulged to many by those high powers". He at once set to work to attach prominent members of the House of Commons to the royal interest. He had one great triumph, the conquest of Sir Thomas Wentworth of Wentworth Woodhouse. Weston used his best endeavours, we are told, "to sweeten and demulce" one who had played so leading a part in the late Parliament in connection with the Petition of Right.

Wentworth was a man of unusual capacity—and an integrity that was almost as uncommon in those times. His ascendancy in the House was derived from these personal qualities. But he had failed, as has already been described, to effect a reconciliation between the king's view and that of the dominant faction in the Commons. His adhesion to the king was regarded by the country party as an act of treachery; but quite unfairly. His mind had never been theirs. He did not wish for the absolute dominance of the House of Commons; he believed in the balance of the different elements of the constitution. The Commons

should have their powers, but the king should have his. What angered him was not the royal prerogative, but the incompetence with which the affairs of the nation were being managed. He knew he could have done it better, and he was right. When the chance came he took it. Already before Buckingham's murder Wentworth had been removed from the uncongenial atmosphere of the Commons and made a Baron. It was not long before he became Lord President of the North and a member of the Privy Council.

In the Council Wentworth came to know Laud, and the two men were immediately drawn together by their affinity of outlook and similarity of character. Both were devoted patriots, believing intensely in England's need for the upholding of the principle of authority, and willing to devote all to further the cause they believed in ; both were lonely men, trusting their plans to none but each other, and calmly certain of their own integrity. They were at one in despising the crowd of self-seekers who surrounded the court, and detesting the vulgar and rhetorical ignorance which found so abundant an outlet for its speech in the House of Commons. They were at one also in not perceiving how a truth lay hid in this rhetoric. As Heylyn

says, " they entered into a League of such inviolable Friendship, that nothing but the inevitable stroke of death could part them ". The letters that pass between them indicate how close and warm was their friendship ; they contain quips and jests such as we do not find elsewhere in Laud's correspondence ; and they are full of a mysterious cipher that reveals better than anything else could do how both men knew that they were surrounded by enemies, and could trust none but each other.

Others who were persuaded to take office were the Earl of Arundell, the proud leader of the more ancient noble families, who affected a grand manner and a style of dress that would make men look on him as " the image and representative of the primitive nobility " ; Sir Francis Cottington, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was likely to stand high in popular favour, his quarrels with the Duke of Buckingham being notorious ; and the Earl of Dorset, a member of the powerful Sackville family. His merit was that, unlike any of the other before-mentioned statesmen, he had great social gifts, and though licentious, was admired for his charm and wit.

We can trace the influence of Laud in

several acts of public policy that were now intended to shew that the king wished to consider the views of different sections of his subjects. There was a strong demand for stiffly enforcing the laws against the recusants, and the king issued a proclamation that this should be done, though a remark let drop by Laud in the "Epistle Dedicatory" that precedes his *Conference with Fisher* shews that he and the king were anxious to avoid the furthest penalties. ("If in your grace and goodness you will spare their persons.") At the same time Archbishop Abbott, who was in close touch with the "Popular Party" in the Commons, was restored to favour and the Council table. Barnaby Potter, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, was made Bishop of Carlisle, though he was known to be "a thorow-paced Calvinian". A mistake had been made in appointing Montagu Bishop of Chichester; but his book *Appello Caesarem* was now called in again. It would have been better had the king acted the other way about; but the intention was good. He did not wish the man to suffer for upholding opinions which, after all, were quite tenable; and he hoped "that the occasion being taken away, men would no longer trouble themselves with such unnecessary Disputations". It was for

its day a really liberal policy that Laud had worked out. That was the reason of its failure. To refuse to persecute Romanists to the utmost extreme, or to hesitate to send a man to prison because he would not accept the Calvinist opinions of the Synod of Dort were themselves crimes ; and no promotion of worthy Calvinists to bishoprics could atone for them. All this became evident very quickly when Parliament met.

The last Parliament had been keenly discussing the king's right to impose tonnage and poundage without its consent. It came back eager to renew the debate, and their eagerness was quickened by irritation at the arrest of two members of the House, Chambers and Rolles, merchants whose goods had been seized by the customs authorities because they refused to pay. This House of Commons from the start went out of its way to prove how unsuitable a body it was to undertake the responsibilities of government. Questions of taxation it was their duty to discuss ; in arguing that they ought to give their consent to the imposition of tonnage and poundage they had a strong case, and one to which at the opening of the session the king was by no means indisposed to listen ; though the law, as declared by the judges, was on his side.

But the fiery Eliot, who always got hold of the wrong end of the stick, if it was possible to do so, insisted that the seizure of Rolles's goods was an infringement of the privileges of the House of Commons. Even Gardiner, who regards the House as almost Divinely guided, admits that it was outrageous to make this claim in regard to the goods of a member of Parliament at a time when the House was not sitting, and therefore his parliamentary duties would not be interfered with by any proceedings that were taken.

Excited as the members were about the privileges of the House and the imposition of taxation which they had not sanctioned, they were even more anxious to plunge into a subject in the discussion of which the House of Commons has never shewn itself at its best. Religion is not a matter that can be suitably treated in an atmosphere in which political results are the dominant consideration rather than the pursuit of truth. The parliaments of those days were not better qualified for their task than the general run of such bodies are. This assembly of country squires, pushing lawyers and comfortable merchants represented one section only of the country. They contained few men of sufficient learning to take a wide and historic

view, or even to grasp the philosophical and psychological problems involved, and of course, the vast crowd of landless men, the dumb poor, to whom the outward acts of religion tell so much, were entirely unrepresented at Westminster. It was not likely that a religion that draws the most speculative and refined intelligences into a unity with the simplest and most childlike souls should get much hearing before an assembly of prosperous men, accustomed to lord it over their inferiors, and confident in their blunt minds that what they did not see had no existence, what they did not hold was condemned of God. It was of no avail for the king to urge that tonnage and poundage was what they ought to be discussing. They wanted to talk about religion, and the business of the country might go hang. "The business in hand is God's", they cried. They knew God's will; it was what they had been accustomed to. Things were now being done "as the like before hath scarce been heard of". "As for passing bills, settling revenues, and the like, without settling Religion", said Sir Walter Earle, "I must confess I have no heart to it: take away my religion, you take away my life: and not only mine but the life of the whole state and kingdom."

If innovation was enough to condemn the erection of altars and other unheard-of practices in the eyes of many a country gentleman, there were others who were able to put their finger on the theological root of all this error. It lay in the belief that the human will is free. It is noteworthy that the controversy is no longer one against Roman Catholicism. That is only introduced to make the members' flesh creep; to warn of an ultimate fate that may befall them, if they yield to the immediate danger. "There are two diseases," said Pym, "the one old, the other new. The old, Popery. The new, Arminianism." The name Arminianism, it may be explained, was derived from that Dutch theologian, Arminius (Hermann), who had, as professor at Leyden, taught that the possibility of salvation was open to all men, and not only to the "Elect", for which he was condemned by the Synod of Dort in 1619.

It was this "heresy" that the fanatical Puritan now saw lifting its head in the persons of Laud and Neile and Montagu.

"I desire," said one member, "that we may consider the increase of Arminianism, an error that maketh the grace of God lackey it after the will of man; that maketh the sheep to keep the shepherd, and makes mortal seed of an immortal God. I desire that we look into the very belly and bowels of

this Trojan Horse, to see if there be not in it men ready to open the gates to Romish tyranny and Spanish monarchy : for an Arminian is the spawn of a Papist ; and if there cometh the warmth of court-favour upon him, you shall see him turned into one of those frogs that arise out of the bottomless pit. . . . Man being backed by Omnipotency is a kind of omnipotent creature. All things are possible to him that believeth ; and where all things are possible, there is a kind of omnipotency. Wherefore, let it be now the unanimous consent and resolution of us all, to make a vow and covenant from henceforth to hold fast our God and our religion ; and then shall we from henceforth certainly expect prosperity in this kingdom and nation."

It was this Judaic religion that was afterwards to create the Ironsides and to deface the cathedrals of England. This fanatical rhetoric produced an electric atmosphere.

Pym supported the cause in a speech of much greater ability. Lawyer-like he kept the House close to precedent, appealing to the Articles of 1552, the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Lambeth Articles, and concentrated on the kind of books that had been suppressed and permitted. He moved warily in answer to the plea that Parliament is not judge in matters of faith ; not openly disputing it, yet maintaining that Parliament ought to know the established and fundamental truths, and the contrary to them ; which was just what they did not know. Parliaments, he said, quite

rightly, had confirmed acts of councils, and he went on to declare that there was no court that can meet with these mischiefs but the Court of Parliament.

Pym acutely recognises how the power of the Church is weakened by the fact that there is no one body capable of speaking for the spirituality.

The convocation cannot ; because it is but a provincial synod, only of the jurisdiction of Canterbury ; and the power thereof is not adequate to the whole kingdom ; and the convocation of York may, perhaps, not agree with that of Canterbury.

The High Commission, he maintained, could not deal with this house any better than Parliament since it derived its authority from Parliament. It did not, in fact ; the High Commission derived from the Royal Supremacy in causes ecclesiastical. But it sounded well to say so, and it was part of Pym's propaganda for making everything depend on the House of Commons. He makes an even higher flight of fancy into mythology when he speaks of the judgement of Parliament being "the judgement of the King and of the three estates of the Kingdom (!)." Sir John Eliot's eloquence was unloosed to denounce the iniquity of the idea that the Convocations should dare to

place an interpretation upon the Articles that differed from that held by the House of Commons. There was one ceremony he was much in favour of, and that was the practice of standing for the Creed, and liked it better if they would stand with drawn swords. He did not stop to inquire whether the Creed that was thus to be defended contained the test of orthodoxy on which the leading spirits in the House appeared to set so much store; nor, we may well believe, did he very much care. The Puritan drum was a valuable tocsin to rouse prejudice against everything that stood in the way of the House of Commons. It must be beaten for all it was worth.

The excitement grows under these invigorating stimuli. Names are mentioned, and persons are attacked. "Montagu is a principal disturber of the Church," says Sir Walter Earle, "he *was* bachelor of divinity, I desire to know how he came to be a bishop." Cosin was accused of treason because he was supposed to have said "that the king had nothing to do to be head of the Church, and that he had no more power for to excommunicate any, than his servants that rubbed his horses' heels", an obvious perversion of something that he really had said. All kinds of gossip and slander and tittle-tattle were

raked up by the suspicious and not very dignified assembly.

A notable figure joins in to say that he hears that Dr. Alabaster had preached flat Popery at S. Paul's Cross, and that the Bishop of Winchester had commanded he should preach nothing to the contrary. We may well believe that he looked much as he was described by "a courtly young gentleman" who saw him first in the Parliament of 1640;

very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than a collar; his hat was without a hat-band. His stature was of a good size, his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swoln and reddish, his voice sharp and untunable, and his eloquence full of fervour.

His name was Oliver Cromwell, and Sir Philip Warwick lived to see this gentleman

(having had a better taylor, and more converse among good company) in my own eye appear of a great and majestic deportment, and comely presence.

"That sloven", as Hampden prophesied, became the greatest man in England. As yet there was no guess of this. He was fulfilling the character that Bishop Williams

gave him of being a spokesman for sectaries, and loving none that were more than his equals.

The Committee on Religion dragged on its wearisome debates, and at length produced an immense document, in which we get a glimpse of the practices to which objection was taken,

the placing of the Communion table North and South in imitation of the High Altar; by which they also call it, and adorn it with candlesticks, which by the injunctions, 10 Eliz. were to be taken away; and do also make obeisance by bowing thereunto, commanding men to stand up at Gloria Patri [it was customary to sit for the Psalms]; in injoining that no woman be churched without a veil; setting up of pictures, lights and images in churches; praying towards the East, crossing *ad omnem motum et gestum*.

The suppressing and restraint of orthodox doctrine also appears. The attempt to shew that the practices complained of were unorthodox was somewhat precariously supported by appeal to the Common Prayer Book and Articles and Bishop Jewel's work. The Lambeth Articles were a stronger point, except that they had never been accepted by the Church.

The king sent to adjourn the House, which was now obviously incapable of business and

interested in nothing but attacking the chief officers of State ; Sir John Eliot had proposed the impeachment of Weston. When the Speaker delivered the king's message, Sir John Eliot at last got back to tonnage and poundage, and proposed a remonstrance on the subject ; but when the Speaker offered to leave the House, he was held down in his chair by Denzil Hollis and others. A message from the king was on the way, ordering the Sergeant to appear with his mace ; but before it arrived, the House was able to pass three resolutions, of which the first was that the introduction of any innovation in religion, or attempt to extend or introduce Popery or Arminianism, or other opinions disagreeing from the true and orthodox Church shall be reputed a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth. This resolution arrogated to the House of Commons the right and power not only of the Church but of the Inquisition as well. They were to determine in their ignorance what was heresy, and to put to death all they found guilty.

There was nothing to be done with so arrogant and foolish a body except to dissolve it. This course was quickly taken by Charles, who had, naturally, become infuriated by

their dilatoriness and perpetual attacks on all, small and great, whom they suspected of heresy. It is hard to see what else he could have done. He published a long and, on the whole, reasonable defence of the action "for the satisfaction of the minds and affections of our loving subjects". The assembly that claimed to be the depository of the national will had done little to make that will impressive or responsible. It would no doubt have been possible to come to terms with a large number of the members, who were just not very clever conservatives disturbed at unaccustomed things. But the fiery rhetoric of Eliot, the gloomy fanaticism of Rouse, the brilliance and acuteness of Selden and Pym swept them off their feet. A little knot was determined that the House of Commons should be supreme arbiter of the destiny of the nation, and of all the individuals that composed it, in every matter sacred and profane. They had force of will and eloquence on their side. They skilfully appealed to the prejudices of the House.

Englishmen then were in some ways a different race ; they were simple-minded and highly emotional, easily moved to tears or cheers. The great orators played on them

as on an instrument of music, and made a melody which it was impossible to harmonise with the Royal burden. Charles was obstinate too, remote, reserved, disdainful. He thought that God had given him the duty of exercising the supreme arbitrament over the nation and its members. But in one point, at any rate at first, he was wiser than Parliament; he never thought himself a judge of heresy; that was for the Church. With his new advisers he was disposed at first to be more moderate and accommodating. But his experience was not encouraging, and he was becoming exasperated and bitter. The clash of two "Rights Divine" was inevitable, nor could it be resolved till each side learnt that God had not given such power unto men. Though no one at the time guessed that it would turn out so, no Parliament met for more than ten years. As Lord Clarendon says:

The unhappy assaults made upon the prerogative, had produced the dissolution of the last Parliament; and the king was resolved now to try if he could not give his people a taste of happiness, and let them see the equity of his government in a single state.

The king had to rely on his immediate councillors, Laud, Weston and Wentworth.

It is possible he might have made a success of it had he known how to dominate his subjects, how to wheedle or flatter them. But these things were beyond his power, or contrary to his temperament.

CHAPTER VI

THE REIGN OF CULTURE

A MODERN French Minister has been known to say that he looked forward eagerly to the summer, for then the senators and deputies would be dismissed for a long vacation, and he could spend all day in his bureau getting on with his work. Some such feelings must have filled the minds of the three men on whom Charles had mainly to rely, when the Parliament of 1629 was dissolved. Laud and Wentworth at any rate were full of schemes for the improvement of their beloved England, and they were now free to put them into operation. The country as a whole was quite willing to give them a trial. The dismissed members of Parliament had hardly covered themselves with glory. The holding of the Speaker in his chair was applauded in school books of the nineteenth century as a mighty act of democracy, and a testimony of the free spirit of the English people. It did not look

so well at the time ; and we can hardly dress it in those clothes to-day. There was no violent reaction ; the House had been carried away beyond the sense of the country.

Laud had a personal reason for feeling relieved.

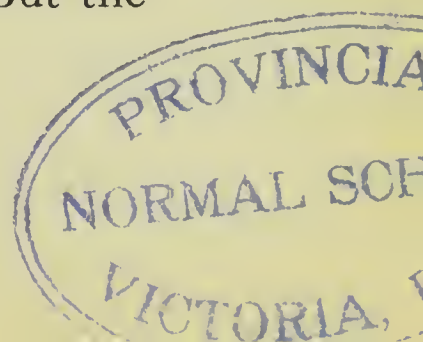
“The Parliament, which was broken up this March 10,” he says in his diary, “laboured my ruin ; but, God be ever blessed for it, found nothing against me.”

There was opposition underground, of course ; papers were thrown into the courtyard of the Deanery of S. Paul’s threatening the Bishop of London and the Lord Treasurer. “Lord, I am a grievous sinner”, comments the former, “but I beseech Thee, deliver my soul from them that hate me without a cause.” He was never entirely free from anxiety ; he knew he was a marked man ; yet he never feared or wavered. In the nation as a whole there was calm. There was more ; there was prosperity ; the impossibility of conducting foreign wars proved to Charles a blessing in disguise. It compelled a cautious foreign policy. Laud’s instincts were all in the same direction ; he felt diffident of his own powers. His correspondence with the Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine is polite but distinctly non-committal. Sir Thomas Roe,

the British ambassador at the Swedish court, who was constantly pressing him to promote the Protestant cause on the Continent, had to excuse my Lord of Canterbury's unwillingness to take action. He

hath good inclinations, and as much credit as ever any servant had, but he is not versed in foreign affairs, and he is fearful to engage himself and his master in new ways and of doubtful event.

Trade had been advancing rapidly throughout the reign of James I. Various causes contributed to an increase of wealth. The plantations in Ireland and across the seas were developed, and the ships of England went ever farther and farther afield; the mining of useful metal was fostered, and the land was continually producing more and more foodstuffs, as the enclosure of common waste and common fields went on. The old system of subsistence farming, under which a vast number of men would work small strips of land, or share a common pasture, had fostered a sturdy peasantry, who were crushed out of existence by the new methods. But the national wealth from the purely economic point of view was increased. It was a day in which the landless men were becoming more numerous, and the lot of the wage-earner divorced from the soil grew worse. But the



blessing that rests upon him who hath was particularly in evidence. The landlords had been growing richer since the time of Elizabeth ; such lovely houses as Mickleton and Raynham, and many another, stand to-day to witness to this prosperity. Foreigners often remarked on the increase of wealth and the display that accompanied it.

The yeoman imitated the gentleman, and had the wherewithal to do it. It was said,

This sort of people commonlie live wealthilie, keepe good houses, travell to get riches. With grasping frequenting of markets and keeping of servants they do come to great wealth, in so much that manie of them are able and doo buie the lands of unthrifitie gentlemen, and often setting their sonnes to the schools, to the Universities, and to the Inns of the Court.

Everybody was eager to better himself ; and if he possessed some land or money to start with, and was pushing and industrious, he could do it. England was in those days the land of opportunity. The same development was to be seen in the commercial world.

“At this time,” it was said, “the City of London was in great splendor, and full of Wealth, and it was then a most glorious sight to behold the Goldsmiths’ Shops, all of one row in Cheapside, from the end of the street called the Old-Change near Pater-Noster-Row, unto the open place over against Mercers’ Chappel, at the lower end of Cheap.”

Capitalism was being rapidly developed. The goldsmiths were introducing the principles of banking, and it was to the city that the king turned in an emergency for the money which he had failed to get from the landed gentry in Parliament. The city of London became an increasingly powerful element in the state, and one that was highly prejudicial to the interest of the crown. The power of the purse deepened the feeling of independence always traditional in London. Puritanism and capitalism were powerful allies, and influences inimical both to Church and king went out from the city to spread a similar prejudice in all the great towns with which the centre of finance was connected by business relations.

But for the time being there was, as has been said, a calm. The country gentry retired to look after their estates, and the merchants, after a few protests, paid tonnage and poundage. The prosperity of the country grew and increased. While the country gentry were building their fine houses, the court was a centre for the promotion of art of every kind. Charles was a connoisseur in architecture, in music, and especially in painting. Inigo Jones received much employment. And even in 1640 the city of London,

which had refused a loan on the ground of poverty, was quite willing to advance a large sum towards the building of a magnificent palace for the king's court in S. James's Park, according to the great architect's model. The banqueting hall at Whitehall, which had been built as part of a grandiose design by Inigo Jones in the reign of James, was much frequented by Charles.

That marvellous impulse in music, to which England owes William Byrd and the great madrigalists, was passing. Byrd and Weelkes died in 1623, and Wilbye left Hengrave in 1626. But there was one who belonged to the great tradition and was feeling his way to new developments. Orlando Gibbons had been appointed organist of Westminster Abbey (of which Laud was prebendary) in time to play at King James's funeral; and when the French envoys, who had come to make arrangements for the marriage of Charles with Henrietta Maria, entered the Abbey, they heard the organ of the great church "touch'd by the best Finger of the Age". Charles followed the medieval custom of taking the singers of the Chapel Royal with him when he travelled in state, and Gibbons, as senior organist, was often of the party. We can imagine the delight he

took in making the daily choral services such as his great master would approve. Music was still one of the accomplishments of "The Compleat Gentleman", who should be able "to sing his part sure, at first sight".

But it was as a patron of painters that Charles puts us permanently in his debt. In this he was greatly assisted by the Mr. Endymion Porter, of whom Herrick gives us so many pleasant glimpses. Porter was often engaged on continental missions, which were as much for the purpose of buying pictures as for the promotion of diplomacy. Rubens came to England in 1630 as an envoy of Spain, to conclude the treaty, the earlier stages of which had been negotiated by Porter in Madrid. He was immediately engaged to decorate the banqueting-hall at Whitehall, for which he was given £6000; and the envoy returned to Madrid as Sir Peter Paul Rubens. Before that, in 1627, Charles had bought the whole collection of the Duke of Mantua, which included twelve Titians, a Correggio, and paintings by Raphael, Michael Angelo, Andrea del Sarto and Tintoretto. Under the royal inspiration collectors were ransacking Greece and Italy, and the new wealth was laying the foundations of our national artistic treasures.

Vandyck, of course, was the principal glory of the day. It was about this time—actually in 1632—that the great artist settled in London and became painter-in-ordinary to the king. Almost anybody of any note was painted by him; the king, of course, many times. And much of the romantic spell that the sad-faced king has cast over succeeding ages is derived from those superb pictures in the National Gallery, at Claydon, and elsewhere. They tell us of one, who might, we guess, have been weak or narrow or disdainful; but they prepare us, as does the superb statue in Trafalgar Square—a debt we owe to Lord Weston—to accept the judgement of Andrew Marvell that in the great event this man would be royal.

He nothing common did nor mean
Upon that memorable scene.

All this artistic interest and love of beauty had Laud's full sympathy. He writes to Wentworth of his admiration of Sir Anthony Vandyck, and regretting that his pictures were too expensive for him; though in another place he finds cause to tell his friend that he will find in Ecclesiastes a better consolation in the troubles that beset a governor than in any anagrams of Dr. Donne's or any designs

of Vandyck. The monuments of Laud's zeal for art are chiefly architectural. Gloucester had felt his hand, and the palace at Abergwili; he now as Bishop of London turned his attention to the great church which was regarded as "one of the principal Ornaments of the Realm". In King James's reign a patriotic citizen, Henry Farley, had noticed how the stone was becoming corroded by the sea-coal smoke, and got the ear of the king. A Commission was appointed, a certain amount of money was raised, and some Portland stone accumulated, but nothing effective was done.

Laud after his usual habit took up the matter energetically, and promised £100 a year from his bishopric. The king caused an appeal to be made throughout the country asking for support. The clergy were generous in their support and considerable subscriptions came in from many quarters; some, as Heylyn hints, gave that they might gain esteem in the public eye—a not unknown begetter of gifts to the building that succeeded it in other ages. Anyhow, by December 1632 they were able to proceed with the demolition of the houses which crowded round the cathedral, and under the expert guidance of Inigo Jones the great work of restoration was

begun. Laud never ceased, even after he was Archbishop, to be enthusiastic about S. Paul's, and by 1640 he saw the whole work finished, over £101,000 having been spent.

Some of the improvements must have been rather out of keeping with the Gothic building. Charles himself gave £10,000, part of which was devoted to building a "stately Portico" at the west end, with Corinthian pillars. Laud wished for this to give people a place to walk and talk, which might make it easier to prevent the actual church itself being used for the purposes of an exchange. Another strange, though, no doubt, handsome addition was the adorning of the west front of the choir with pillars of black marble, and statues of the Saxon kings, for which money was lavishly given by Sir Paul Pindar, a former ambassador at Constantinople. The whole enterprise rested on Laud. He was, as Heylyn says, the Wheel on which "the whole Engine moved". When he was committed to prison, there were some eminent men who regretted it especially because the whole project slowed down in consequence. But the curious hatred which the work produced amongst fanatics is illustrated by the remark of Lord Brooke, who said that he hoped to live to see no one stone

left upon another of that building. Laud in his prison afterwards learnt that this peer, who had ever been fierce against bishops and cathedrals, was shot in the eye and killed as he led the attack on Lichfield Cathedral.

Laud's connection with Oxford became closer about this time. He was chosen to be Chancellor of his beloved University on April 12, 1630, although Bishop Williams did his best to prevent the return of one who was described by a correspondent of his as "the little meddling hocus - pocus". The Calvinists worked hard to keep him out; but their power was on the wane. Juxon and Laud's other friends won the day. The University and his own college has had cause ever since to bless the day when this loyal son of Oxford and earnest fautor of humane learning was called to rule its affairs. For rule it he did, and as usual at once set about the task. Every office came to him as a call to reform, and those who did not wish to be disturbed had good reason to fear his meddlings; Universities prefer decorative Chancellors. He had opponents at Magdalen Hall and New Inn Hall, but a stronger body of supporters. Heads of houses like Juxon at S. John's, Duppa at Christ Church, Pinke at

New College, Accepted Frewen at Magdalen, Mansell at Jesus, and Potter at Queen's, formed a strong phalanx ready to support the new Chancellor. Perhaps even they were astonished when Laud demanded a weekly report on events.

To attempt to do justice to the interest that Laud took in Oxford would require a volume. Any one who reads the correspondence which he carried on in connection with the University must find it almost incredible that one who was soon to add the higher and more exacting duties of Archbishop of Canterbury to those of Chancellor—to say nothing of the other multifarious matters in which he also took the most detailed interest—ever found time or energy to attend to all these things and to write those lengthy letters. He must have spent hours at his desk. We are not surprised to read in his diary that he used to swing a book for exercise in private, nor to learn that the little man did it with such violence that he ruptured himself. Laud found it easy to believe—as the proctors assured him was the case—that “some medicinal hand was of necessity”; and he did not hesitate to apply it. He interfered in the elections of Heads of Colleges, though he always tried to avoid overriding the rights of

the Fellows, and he was ever keen for the preservation of statutory privileges.

He took particular interest in the morals of the undergraduates, and even of the dons, whom he sometimes found lacking in good example. He ordered that "No man of any degree whatsoever (and therefore much less youths) be suffered to go in boots and spurs together with their gowns". Haunting of inns or taverns, or other drinking houses, especially by masters of arts, "that should give younger youths better example" was to be sternly dealt with. He is distressed to hear that the "nobility are not kept in such awe (the more is the pity) as those bred in Cambridge," "for I am sure your statutes are perfecter than theirs". Laud thought it was right that there should be a distinction between noblemen's sons and those of meaner condition; they were to be put to such exercises as they were able to perform (apparently not much could be expected); but if the young Earl of Downe would not behave, he would banish him, "let his friends take it as they please". One can see why the nobility did not like Laud.

The statutes to which Laud referred in this letter were those which he had given to the University. The revision of the

statutes was the first reform he set himself; it badly needed doing. Laud took the greatest interest in the construction of the new code, which was, after the English manner, a revision and not a revolution. They covered every department of the University's life; and in 1636, when they were complete, the Chancellor to celebrate the occasion invited the king and queen to visit the University and be present at an academic entertainment on that 29th day of August, which always was a day of omen in Laud's mind. It was a great occasion. There was much speech-making, and special gifts were made to the Royal party; to the king, according to custom "a fair and costly pair of gloves", to the queen "a fair English Bible" (hardly a welcome present), to the Prince Elector Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and to Prince Rupert Cæsar's *Commentaries* in English. After the king had taken the queen to her lodgings he went himself to Christ Church, where he knelt, and "lifting up his hands and eyes, with his long left lock shelving over his shoulder," as Wood tells us, "he did his private devotions to his Maker."

Plays formed a great feature of the visit. Dramatic performances were one of the established recreations of academic life, and

Laud greatly encouraged them. The first was at Christ Church, and bore the wonderful title of *Passions Calmed, or the Settling of the Floating Islands*. Laud had taken great interest in the construction of a new stage. It had imposing scenery ; we read of “ The perfect resemblance of the billows of the Sea rolling, and an artificial Island, with Churches and Houses waving up and down.” A mighty fine show it must have been. Laud says the play “ was well penned, but yet did not take the Court so well”, perhaps because it had more of the philosopher than the poet in it. However there was another one, *The Royal Slave*, next night, the scenery of which designed by Inigo Jones, so pleased the queen that she insisted on carrying off all the properties to Hampton Court. The Royal party, of course, visited S. John’s to see their friend’s new buildings. There they were entertained by the Chancellor most sumptuously at his own expense. After dinner the windows of the hall were shut, and the candles lighted and yet another play performed, and Laud notes this time “ The plot was very good, and the action. It was merry and without offence, and so gave a great deal of content.” It was a great day for the great little man, who

had come up as a poor boy from Reading School.

But Laud left more permanent marks in Oxford of his love of letters and fine buildings. The Canterbury quadrangle that he added to his college is one of the most beautiful things in the University. His munificence to the University was as great as to his college. He was alive to the importance of the Oriental languages, and we are probably right in detecting in this enthusiasm a missionary interest, as well as a desire that Oxford should stand on the same footing as the great Continental Universities of Paris, Bologna and Salamanca. He persuaded the king to annex a canonry in Christ Church to the Hebrew professorship, and himself inaugurated the Arabic professorship, which still bears his name. It was first occupied by Edward Pocock, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, whom Laud employed to collect Oriental manuscripts. S. Mary's Church, the "new convocation house", and the windows of Queen's College Chapel all bear traces of Laud's interest.

Laud always kept one eye on Cambridge, and was, "as in private duty bound," jealous of any advantage that it might seem to have over Oxford. He was distressed to learn of

the “slipping aside of Oxford men” “to take degrees at Cambridge”, owing to the strictness of the new statutes that he had given to Oxford. Letters passed between the two Vice-Chancellors, and a “mutual amity and correspondence” was established. But Laud knew how to use Cambridge men of parts; he was quick to recognise them, and was not above introducing them into his own University. A remarkable example is the young Caius man, Jeremy Taylor, who had already made his mark as a preacher at S. Paul’s at the age of twenty-two. Laud hearing of his fame sent for him to preach before him, and was delighted. He thought that it was “for the advantage of the world, that such mighty parts should be afforded better opportunities of study and improvement than a course of constant preaching would allow of”. He thought it was well that so promising a young man should come under the influences of a more humane theology, which was then steadily growing in Oxford. He at once recommended Taylor to the Warden and Fellows of All Souls.

Though he hath had his breeding, for the most part, in the other University, yet I hope that will be no prejudice to him, in regard he is incorporated into Oxford, *ut sit eodem gradu et ordine*, and admitted into the University College.

This has been represented as high-handed action on the part of Laud, but it was not at all unprecedented, and the Warden and Fellows seem to have been glad to include the brilliant young man in their ranks. Sheldon (who, by the way, was not Warden, as Sir Edmund Gosse says) made some difficulty ; but that proves nothing. The same writer says that "to the prosaic mind of Laud, it is not at all certain that the ecstatic dream, the coloured reverie of Taylor, would greatly appeal". This is an entirely gratuitous assumption. Laud's own mind was essentially practical, but he was quite capable of appreciating the more imaginative gift of others, and Sir Edmund has on a previous page recorded the fact that Laud thought his manner of preaching "beyond imitation". Taylor's strength lay in his ability to unite a gorgeous style with a very practical divinity, and it is probable that the combination of gifts attracted Laud. Jeremy Taylor cared for the welfare of human beings, and this made him the first casuist of his age. The knowledge of the soul thus gained did not check his native eloquence ; it worked with it to make him the author of *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying*.

Taylor's even more famous book *Liberty*

of Prophesying owed far more to Laud and those many talks they had had at Lambeth than is generally recognised. Many of his positions are just the same. There must be unity in necessary things, of which the Apostles' Creed is the standard, but freedom of opinion in what lies beyond. His plea for the toleration of Roman Catholics follows almost exactly Laud's lines. "If we consider the doctrines themselves, we shall find them to be superstructures ill built and worse managed, but yet they keep the foundation." He is akin to him in his denial of the claim that the Church can declare a new article of faith necessary; he is akin to him also in emphasis on the importance of the use of reason in religion. It was this that made Laud more in tune with many of the "wits and virtuosi" of the age than he is generally thought to be. The Puritans were the enemies of reason. They clamped men's minds down to school points. This, as has been seen, was a large part of the cause of Laud's revolt against them.

There was a great house not so far from Oxford, which became famous as the home of speculative minds, the resort of poets and literati. It is often said that Great Tew stood for a group of people who thought there was

little to choose between the dogmatism of Anglican and Puritan. But a notion may become a commonplace without getting any nearer to the truth. Falkland himself, the host and owner of the house, had as Clarendon says "unhappily contracted some prejudice" against the Archbishop, and

he had in his own judgement such a latitude of opinion that he did not believe any part of the order or government of it to be so essentially necessary to religion, but that it might be parted with for a notable public benefit or convenience.

Yet he

had a better opinion of the Church of England, and the religion of it, than any other Church and religion; and had extraordinary kindness for very many churchmen, and if he could have helped or prevented it, there should have been no attempts against it.

It is surely reasonable to suppose that such a man did not equate Laud with the Puritans. The one desired order in outward things; the other demanded an intellectual tyranny. And we know that many of those who loved to gather at the lovely house in the Cotswolds to discuss everything in heaven and earth were on very friendly terms with Laud. The "ever-memorable" John Hales was one of the most delightful members of the group.

A pretty little man, sanguine, of a cheerfull countenance, very gentile and courteous. . . . He loved Canarie ; but moderately to refresh his spirits. Hales had a strong objection to the tyranny that the Church of Rome exercised over men's consciences.

He would often say that he would renounce the religion of the Church of England to-morrow if it obliged him to believe that any other Christians should be damned. This is supposed to be a truly remarkable utterance "in the age of Baillie and Baxter, Bancroft and Laud". Laud was certainly disturbed when he heard rumours of his tract on *Schism and Schismatics*, and sent for him. When he arrived he found him a man after his own heart. After all had not he himself said :

It ought to be no easy thing to condemn a man of heresy. . . . It is good counsel which Alphonsus a Castro one of your own (*i.e.* Roman Catholic) gives, "Let them consider that pronounce easily of heresy, how easy it is for themselves to err."

We need not suppose that it was merely to win the old man's support that after that long talk in the garden at Lambeth, when they both got hot and flustered, Laud made him his chaplain. Sir Henry Wotton, poet and Provost of Eton, describes how

My Lord's Grace of Canterbury hath this week sent hither to Mr. Hales [Hales was a Fellow of Eton] very nobly, a prebendaryship of Windsor, unexpected, undesired.

The affection of Sir Henry Wotton, one of the most cultivated and liberal men of his age, for Laud tells much. It is no mean compliment to win the respect of the man who wrote,

How happy is he born and taught
That serveth not another's will,
Whose armour is his honest thought
And simple truth his utmost skill.

That he did so is proved by a clause in Sir Henry Wotton's will.

To my Lord's Grace of Canterbury now being, I leave my picture of Divine Love, rarely copied from one in the King's Galleries, of my presentation to His Majesty, beseeching him to receive it as a pledge of my humble reverence to his great Wisdom.

Then there was Chillingworth, Laud's godson, that active and restless mind, of whom we are told, that as a young Fellow of Trinity, Oxford,

he would often walk in the College Grove and contemplate, but when he met with any scholar there, he would enter into discourse, and dispute with him, purposely to facilitate and make the way of wrangling common with him ; which was a fashion used in those days, especially among the disputing Theologists.

But the Puritans were suspicious of this speculative liveliness, and these suspicions, we may well believe, helped the young man by reaction to think he would find larger room in the Church of Rome, and laid him open to the "silly sophisms", as Wood calls them, of the Jesuits. But Laud, hearing he was at Douai, soon had him back again, and in walks and talks at Lambeth used all the argument he had once before used to Fisher to disprove the "Safety First" theory that had beguiled him for a time. He sent him back to Oxford, bade those in authority to keep a watchful eye on him, and set him on writing a book to answer his former opinions.

The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation in its main argument owes something to those talks. It was mostly written at Great Tew, where he "had the benefit of my Lord's Company and his good Library". There he found inspiration also in the conversation of the "learned and witty men" who resorted there. Their talk was by no means only of theology. Chillingworth was a bit of a poet, and, as he afterwards shewed on the Royalist side in the war, a most skilful engineer. The little man was a quick disputant. Hobbes's description of him is apt ;

“ he was like a lusty fighting Fellow, that did drive his Enemies before him, but would often give his own Party smart backblows.” These were not the kind of people the Puritans liked. When Chillingworth lay sick at Chichester worn out with his engineering tasks, and a prisoner among the Parliamentarians, his end was hastened by the discourses and disputes of one Cheynell, who even went the length of standing over his open grave and throwing on the corpse the famous book that had so powerfully established the religion of Protestants (but unfortunately not after the narrow Puritan pattern) with the pleasing valediction,

Get thee gone then, thou cursed Book, which hast seduced so many precious Souls ; get thee gone, thou corrupt rotten Book, Earth to Earth, and Dust to Dust.

But with Laud these men who gathered at Great Tew had close links. He appreciated their intellectual vitality, and did nothing to hinder their activity. We cannot be surprised that Falkland, though he did not believe that episcopacy was *jure divino*, yet preferred it to the ascendancy of the Presbyterians. He spoke against the abolition of the episcopate. “ Where it is not necessary to change, it is necessary not to change.” Others who fre-

quented Great Tew, and had at first mistrusted Laud, such as Gilbert Sheldon, learnt afterwards to look back to him with reverence, and, when the time came, did what they could to promote his ecclesiastical ideas and keep green his memory. It was Sheldon who after the Restoration was anxious that the *History of the Trials and Troubles* should be published.

Though Laud was friendly to learned discussions, he was opposed to the preaching of sermons in the University that stirred up a needless bitterness of feeling on religious matters. He was equally opposed to the preachers who attacked the ceremonies then becoming fashionable, and to those who denounced the Synod of Dort. It was because he desired a reasonable latitude that he disliked opinions being put forward as dogmas. There was a specially notorious case, that in which Thomas Ford of Magdalen-hall, Giles Thorne of Balliol, and John Hodges of Exeter were concerned. The king himself heard the case at Woodstock, with Laud sitting by his side. It was a patient hearing—it took six hours—and the delinquents were condemned, while the Heads of their Houses came in for a reproof. The young men had certainly been provocative.

Hill attacked the "Pelagian votarists" (*i.e.* the Anglicans) as having mishandled the decree that Charles had issued against controversial preaching. They maintained that they had misused Scripture to defend Popery or, as bad, Pelagianism.

Popish darts whet fresh on a Dutch grinston (grindstone) have pierced deep, and without speedy succour will prove mortall.

Two of the preachers recanted, and admitted that they had imputed "to a great part of our clergy only politic and lunatic religion", which was hardly conducive to academic calm and the prosecution of learning. So one way and another Laud was kept busy at Oxford. But this did not in the least interfere with his multifarious activities all over the country, and in many directions his belief in wholesome recreation brought him into collision with the Puritans.

The theatre was a grave cause of offence, and the royal and episcopal patronage made it seem doubly evil. Questions of morality are always apt to arise in connection with the stage. There is something artificial about the actor's life which tends in shallow characters to loosen the sense of true human relations ; and there is always a temptation

to pander to the lower instincts of the crowd. No doubt there is much that could be criticised in the theatre of that date ; but in each age there will be found people to aver that the stage has never been more degenerate. After all, the remedy is in the hands of the public. If all those who are sure of their own virtue avoid the theatre as a pest, they will hardly contribute much to its uplifting. And this is what the Puritans did ; they regarded the theatre as wholly evil, and this in the age when Shakespeare's plays were newly written, and when Ben Jonson, Massinger and Fletcher were still at work. No doubt there are passages in all these writers, Shakespeare himself not excepted, which Victorian ears and even the more hardened organs of Georgian days find impossible. But it would be a crime utterly to condemn them on that account. In those days people of all sorts employed a frankness which is unnatural to us.

A barrister of Lincoln's Inn, William Prynne, had long brooded over the iniquities of the stage, and grown ever more sour in the process. In *Histrion-mastix, The Player's Scourge*, he set out to prove that popular stage plays are "the very Pompes of the Divell . . . sinful, heathenish, lewde, un-

godly Spectacles and most pernicious Corruptions ". He also maintained that to write or act stage plays is unfitting a Christian ; and he was careful to include " Academicall Interludes " in his condemnation. Prynne's book is a valuable revelation of the Puritan mind in its more extreme form. He is absorbed by a vast hatred of other people's sins, and his jaundiced imagination sees vice in the most harmless things. He is representative of a large section of his party in being dominated by a sex-complex. In this respect there is a close affinity between Puritanism and certain aspects of monasticism. The Puritans were in nothing so characteristically medieval, and opposed to the whole spirit of the Renaissance as in their attitude to woman. With Prynne as with Milton later the world is made for males ; and woman is a disturbing and dangerous element, always Eve or Delilah.

" Our English Gentlewomen," he says, " are now growne so farre past shame, past modesty, grace and nature, as to clip their hair like men with lockes and foretops."

He suspects they did it as the nuns did, to indicate that they are freed from all subjection to men or to their husbands.

Dancers for the most part are adulterers,

lecherous people, given up to sensuality. True, Solomon said, "There is a time to dance," but what he meant by dancing was singing psalms, dances "in which the heart is more active than the feet". You cannot dance in the day, because you ought to be working. You ought not to be able to dance at night, because you are tired, and should go to bed.

Hard workers therefore have little time, at least but little need or reason to turn Dancers.

There are people that cannot walke twenty yards to Church on foot without the help of a Coach; and yet will dance 40 Galliards or Corantos five hundred paces long. These indefatigable dancers would rather die than worke; and not live than not live well.

Men never went as yet by multitudes, much less by Morrice-dancing troops to Heaven; Alas there are but few who finde that narrow way; they scarce goe two together, and those few what are they? Not dancers, but mourners: not laughers, but weepers: whose tune is Lachrymæ, whose musicke, sighes for sinners.

Plays are evidently proved evil, because they are accompanied with effeminate lust-provoking music, and profuse exorbitant laughter.

The Puritans were opposed to all kinds of music except Psalm-tunes, and were rightly unpopular for that reason. When the Clown in *The Winter's Tale* is describing the prepara-

tions he has made for the homely country feast, he tells how the twenty-four shearers are "three-man song men all, and very good ones", though they were mostly "means and basses", but fortunately there was only "one puritan among them, and he sings psalms to hornpipes". Shakespeare voices the popular protest against those who looked sourly at other people's enjoyments. "Dost thou think, because thou art virtuous, there shall be no more cakes and ale?" The whole character of Malvolio is intended to be a picture of the Puritan "thruster" who is full of his self-importance and despises the common herd, often without any adequate moral superiority. Sir Andrew Aguecheek says he would beat him like a dog, if he thought he was a Puritan. "The devil a Puritan he is," says that sharp-tongued young minx, Maria, "or anything constantly but a time-pleaser." No doubt a harsh judgment and made by rather uproarious people, but symptomatic, and not unsupported by evidence.

Prynne's knowledge of the theatre is derived not from experience, but from misunderstood and ill-digested knowledge of the remote past.

He proves by quotations from Ovid and

the histories of the Roman Empire that plays led on to immorality. A doubt whether these stories of the past have any application to the present floats into his mind for a brief moment—only to be dismissed.

How farre this usage yet continues I cannot positively determine : yet this I have heard by good intelligence. If our theatres are not Bawdy-houses, yet they are Cosin-germanes at least-wise neighbours to them.

He hears a natural protest : “ You will then deprive us of all mirth ” ; but he brushes it aside in the one passage in the whole farrago that touches reason and beauty.

They have choice enough of sundry lawful recreations, and earthly solaces to exhilarate their minds. They have the several prospects of the Sunne, the Moon, the Planets, etc to delight their eye. They have the Musicke of all Birds and singing creatures to please their eares ; the incomparably delicate oderiferous scents and perfumes of all Herbes, all Flowers, all Fruit, to refresh their noses ; the savery tastes of all edible creatures to contemn their pallets, so farre as the rules of sobriety and temperance will permit : the pleasures that Orchards, Rivers, Gardens, Ponds, Woods, or any such earthly Paradices can afford them : the comfort of Friends, Kindred, Wives, Children, Possessions, Wealth, and all other externall blessings that God hath bestowed upon them.

Besides, though men are debard from stage-playe, dicing, or mix lascivious Dancing, or any other unlawful sports, they have store of honest, or

healthfull recreations still remaining, with which to refresh themselves ; as walking, riding, fishing, fowling, hawking, hunting, ringing, leaping, vaulting, wrestling, running, shooting, singing of Psalms and pious Ditties ; playing upon Musicall Instruments, casting of the Barre, tossing the Pike, riding of the great Horse (an exercise fit for men of quality) running at the ring, with a world of such like lawdable, cheepe and harmless exercises. . . . They have plenty of farre better sports.

But these almost exclusively male forms of recreation are only a concession to human weakness. Prynne does not fear the objection that all mirth will be taken away. It is better so. Amusements are at best waste of time and money, and they verge on sin.

Carnall Worldly pleasures, you know, are no part, no particle of a Christian's comfort, hee can live a most happy, joyful life without them ; yea he can hardly live happily or safely with them.

Laud's attitude to the theatre is eminently sound and reasonable. He expounds it, when Prynne is tried before the Star Chamber for the abuse he had flung about so wildly. " I was never a play-hunter ", he says, but he thinks they may be a proper recreation.

Mr. Prynne will not allow you to see a play—they are in his opinion, *mala per se*. But I say, take away the scurf and rubbish which they are incident unto, they are things indifferent.

Prynne had accumulated a mass of evidence from the Fathers to prove that the theatre was unchristian. But as Laud shews, that is nothing to the point; then they were closely connected with idolatry, and often immoral. If they are contrary to good manners now, let the Lord Chamberlain see to it. Laud gives an example of Prynne's circular method of argument.

That which hath birth from the devil is sin; but stage plays have their birth from the devil; therefore stage plays are sinful.

It is impossible, of course, to reason with a man who talks like that. But Laud's comment is significant.

Mr. Prynne, is the devil all evil? Then he was so in the creation. Take heed of that opinion—that is perfect Manicheism.

He goes on to shew the absurdity of decrying plays altogether because they contain abuses. It would be easy to prove food and drink evil on the lines that Prynne adopted; which was true, for at bottom his view was what Laud said it was, not Christianity but Manicheism, a denial that there was any good in the material world.

But in nothing did Laud's firm stand on behalf of the legitimate pleasures of the

ordinary man bring him more violently into collision with those who suspected sin in every form of amusement than his action in regard to the Declaration of Sports. The Puritan gentry were continually trying to abolish the simple (if rude) pleasures of the poor, urged thereto by their religion and by their conviction that the poor were meant for work. They were being increasingly driven from the land and sinking into a new vassalage. Down in the West, in Somersetshire, in 1633 Lord Chief Justice Richardson and Baron Denham had listened to the landlords' complaints and tried to suppress altogether the "Revels, Church-Ales, Clerk-Ales, and all other Publick Ales", and went so far as to order parish ministers to publish their regulations. But this came within the ecclesiastical sphere. When Laud got to hear of it, he went straight to the King, and it was not long before the Chief Justice found himself called before the Council and commanded to withdraw the order that he had given. He came out from the Council Chamber blubbering, and saying that he had been choked by a pair of lawn sleeves.

This was, of course, reckoned as a great crime against Laud, when he came to his trial. But he bravely stuck to his point.

I am still of opinion that there is no reason the feasts should be taken away for some abuses in them; and those such as every Justice of the Peace is able by law to remedy, if he will do his duty. Else by this kind of proceeding, we may go back to the old cure, and remedy drunkenness by rooting out all the vines; the wine of whose fruit causes it.

The Bishop of Bath and Wells was informed of what had happened, and how his Majesty had learnt that "The Humourists increase much in those parts, and unite themselves by banding against the Feasts", and was warned to take care that they should not have just cause for complaint. The Bishop (Pierce) understood the mind of the common people better than the gentry did, and reported it to London. When the constables returned from the assizes and told their neighbours what Judge Richardson had done,

they answered that it was very hard if they could not entertain their kindred and friends once a year to praise God for his blessings, and to pray for the King's Majesty . . . they said they would endure the judge's penalties rather than they would break off their feast-days;

and he added from his own experience that the feasts did good in promoting fellowship and bringing local enemies together again. The Bishop also saw quite clearly what one of the real objections was; the precise sort disliked

the feasts because they were on Sundays, “which they never call but Sabbath days”. But the more sensible clergy were of a different mind. They thought it better that people should have honest recreation after Evening Prayer rather than resorting to tippling-houses or plotting in corners against Church and State. But the local gentry were determined to put these amusements down, and they petitioned the king, who forestalled them by issuing the famous “Declaration to his Subjects concerning Lawful Sports.” In it was republished the declaration that his father had made, already referred to, and an explanation that Charles’s action was called for by the attempt that had been made to forbid “not only ordinary meetings, but the Feasts of the Dedication of the Churches, commonly called Wakes”. Nothing made the county gentry so determined to have Laud’s blood as his championship—for they were right in thinking that he was the moving spirit—of the poor against their oppressors.

CHAPTER VII

LAUD AS ADMINISTRATOR

ON the 6th of August 1633, when Laud went to visit the king at Greenwich, he was greeted by Charles with a courtly jest, "My Lord's Grace of Canterbury, you are very welcome". Abbott was dead, and Charles had no doubt how to fill the place which had been so neglected by one who was, as Heylyn says, "a grave man in his conversation and unblameable in his life", but entirely unsuited to the "care of all the churches" in an age when a clear head and a stout heart were needed if the work of Cranmer, Parker, Bancroft and Whitgift was not utterly to be swept away. These gifts Laud certainly had, if, on the other hand, he had defects that injured his cause.

At last he had reached the position in which he was able to apply to the full the principles that he believed essential to the permanence of the English Church. He had

been powerful as Bishop of London, he had been still more powerful as the established confidant of the king. But as Archbishop of Canterbury he achieved a status wherein he could act not merely through the king, but on his own responsibility. The exact authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury in relation to the Church of England was left in some ways obscure at the Reformation ; and in practice it has varied much according to the dispositions and views of different holders of the office. Abbott had made the least of it ; Laud was determined to make the most. He could find both law and precedent for a very exalted view. The Archbishop was (and is), in theory, the next person in the kingdom to Princes of the Blood Royal. The Primate and Metropolitan of All England is the first peer of the realm ; he holds the office—in legal phrase—not by Divine permission, but by Divine providence. What was of more importance for immediate purposes, an act of the reign of Henry VIII. had recognised the Archbishop of Canterbury as possessing for the future the whole licensing power that had been exercised by the Pope. There was a proviso, “ in so far as it was not repugnant to the word of God ” ; a vague phrase, but when King and Archbishop

were agreed it was one that did not interpose any serious obstacle to the exercise of primatial functions very wide in scope. Though Laud was glad to have his chance to do—as he hoped—something effective for the Church of God, he was well aware of its dangers and difficulties; he prayed fervently that God would give him ability to perform it.

Its importance was brought home to him by a strange offer that came his way just at that time. He was seriously approached by an emissary from Rome with the suggestion that he could, if he wished, be made a Cardinal. The proposal is so wild that it is natural at first sight to think that there can be nothing in it; but it was probably entirely sincere and responsible. The Roman emissaries throughout that period shewed the most amazing misunderstanding of the religious situation in England; it is quite likely that they blindly accepted the Puritan's estimate of Laud at its face value, and fondly dreamed that he would lead England to Rome. They received from his own lips a firm and polite answer which shewed where he stood. "My answer again was, that somewhat dwelt within me, which would not suffer that, till Rome were other than it is."

There was an ill omen when he first went

to Lambeth. His coach, horses and men sank to the bottom of the Thames in the ferry-boat, which was overladen. "But, I praise God for it, I lost neither man nor horse." Lunatics threatened his life or prophesied a speedy end. Laud's dear friend, Wentworth, wrote from Ireland to congratulate him, and to wish him many happy years. Laud replied that he expected neither;

not many, for I am in years, and have had a troublesome life; not happy, because I have no hope to do the good I desire. . . . I have had a heaviness hang upon me ever since I was nominated to this place, and I can give myself no account of it, unless it proceed from an apprehension that there is more expected from me than the craziness of these times will give me leave to do.

He is full of foreboding. But he can still joke with Wentworth. He fears he will no longer get the exercise to which he had been accustomed, by being jolted over the stones almost daily between London House and Whitehall, as he will now simply have to slide over in a barge to the Court and Star Chamber. But come what may the little pragmatic man is determined to do his best. He is as much for "thorough" as Wentworth, but there is a hint that "somebody" makes it difficult. Was it Weston? Or the king?

But on the other hand the country was prosperous ; the importance of London was increasing ; the judges were supporting the actions of the king and council, and their authority was maintained in spite of mutterings and libels, as it would seem, by public consent. Charles had no troops ; and for the time he seemed to need none. There was peace abroad and at home.

Many matters quickly engaged Laud's attention ; his treatment of them all shews a determination to promote the growth of order. He persuades the king to issue a letter to the bishops, bidding them be careful in ordaining men to see that they have a title either in a parish or the University. There was a good deal of carelessness still in some dioceses, and men were being ordained without any qualifications, or any visible means of subsistence, which brought discredit on the clerical office. They became vagrant ministers or trencher chaplains in the houses of the great. The position of the altar is still a subject of controversy. The parishioners of S. George's in the City had been repairing their church, and had provided "a decent and convenient Table for the holy Sacrament". The Dean and Chapter, who were the ordinary, ordered that it should be placed at the east end altar-

wise, as in S. Paul's Cathedral. But five parishioners were aggrieved and appealed to the Dean of Arches. The Dean, like some other lay-judges since, was more inclined to heed the aggrieved minority than the tradition of the Church, and the king decides to hear the case in Council, and very sensibly decided that such a matter must be settled, not by the discretion of the parish, or the particular fancy of some humorous person, but by constitutional authority, in other words the ordinary.

About this time Bishop Williams comes on the scene again. He had been ordered to retire to his diocese. But he had penetrated no farther into that vast see than to the episcopal manor of Buckden in Huntingdonshire. The moment Laud is appointed Archbishop, Williams wrote what can only be described as a fawning letter, in which he has the effrontery to say that he had never tried to injure Laud, and that he was no favourer of Puritans or Sectaries; and he finishes up by begging Laud to use his influence with the king to take him back into favour again. Laud's answer is dignified. He indicates his surprise; but he pleads with the king, though without success.

Williams bided his time, solacing himself meanwhile with the singing of the choir of

Westminster Abbey, which he had carried with him to his retreat. Like Laud he was interested in church restoration, and he recovered the chancel of a church in Leicester for its proper uses. But his orders to the Mayor touching the Holy Table are significant. It is to stand at the "upper end" out of service time; but during the "holy mysteries" it is to be brought down into the body of the church, only it is to be "fairly covered and adorned wheresoever it stands", so that those who "are not extremely malicious" may not be able to reproach them. It is easy to guess whom Williams meant.

But this and other matters were taken up by Laud on a larger scale. In 1634 he resolved to begin a visitation of his whole province. The right of the Metropolitan to visit his province and exercise oversight over his suffragans was an old matter of controversy in England. Such visitations had been established in the Western Church by the Council of Lyons in 1245, and they had been undertaken with energy by various medieval Archbishops, such as Boniface of Savoy, in spite of resistance. Warham had exercised the right and so had Cranmer. In 1560 Parker had resumed the practice, which had been interrupted by Royal Visitations,

and his inquiry into the state of his province lasted three years. Abbott, the year before he died, had sent an account of his province to the king, which is a somewhat perfunctory document.

The bishops for aught it appeareth unto me, have lived at home ; and in the episcopal houses.

It is difficult to accept his statements that “ of Arminian points there is no dispute ”, whatever way the phrase is interpreted. “ Ordinations of ministers, *for aught that I can learn*, are canonically observed.” It is also difficult to believe that “ there is not left in the Church of England any inconformable minister ”. Two things, however, had come to Abbott’s ears which disturbed him. Papists had been frequenting Holywell or S. Winifred’s Well in Wales, and he recommended action since it was “ no better than a pilgrimage ”. A Lady Wotton in Kent had put up an epitaph on her husband’s tomb, declaring that he died a true Catholic of the Roman Church. For this Abbott desired to bring the lady before the High Commission ; shewing that those who were of another opinion to Laud were quite willing to use that court.

The inquiries made during these visita-

tions, which were carried out first of all by Sir Nathaniel Brent, his vicar-general, and later by Sir John Lambe, covered a large field—the Church and its ornaments ; the practice of the clergy, whether they used the Prayer Book or not ; parish clerks, whether they made the responses and kept the church clean ; churchwardens and sidesmen, whether they saw that people duly resorted to the church every Sunday and holiday, and whether they had a book in which preachers' names were entered. The parishioners were inquired of, whether they behaved themselves reverently during service time, kneeling for the prayers, making a reverence when the blessed name of Jesus is mentioned, and standing up when the articles of belief are read. All over sixteen were expected to carry out the Prayer Book requirement of communicating thrice in the year, of which Easter was to be one. Children, servants and apprentices were to come to be catechised upon Sundays and holy-days. The names of recusants were to be sent in, also of those who would only come to church for the sermon, and those who opened their shops on Sundays or holidays. Care was to be taken to see that hospitals and almshouses were being used by the people for whom they were intended,

and moral offences were to be inquired into.

But the two things that caused most stir were the attempts to get control of the unlicensed lecturers and the questions connected with the altar. The former was of course from the point of view of the bishops, most important, as nonconformity was regarded as a blow to the unity of the country. Norwich was particularly troublesome, partly because it was one of the richest parts of the country, and partly because many Protestants from the Continent had settled there, either for purposes of trade, or as religious refugees. Ipswich was always in trouble. A series of careful bishops was sent to Norwich, but the troubles still remained. In 1638 Matthew Wren was appointed. His rule was harsh, and he became an object of the greatest hatred to the Puritans. Lincoln, too, which was the largest diocese in the country, provided some difficulties. Wainfleet, Kirton and Louth are mentioned in connection with lecturers. But on the whole, if the accounts can be trusted, the bishops seem to have been successful in reducing their dioceses to order. No doubt this was partly effected by the flight of those who were Nonconformists. Some went to Holland ; others to the Colonies. We read

fairly often such notices as "the party fled the country, and is thought to be gone to New England". In that beautiful country they were able to set up a theological tyranny of the elect which, while it made clear the meaning of Calvinism, caused Laud's efforts after conformity to seem mild by comparison.

The position of the altar, and the reverence to be paid to it, are subjects which become infinitely tiresome to a student of the period. But the essential points in regard to the controversy which raged round them are simple. In Elizabeth's Injunctions it had been laid down that the Holy Table was to stand where the altar had, out of service-time,

saving when the Communion of the Sacrament is to be distributed; at which time the same shall be so placed in good sort within the Chancel, as whereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently and in more number communicate with the said minister.

When service was over, the Holy Table was to be put back at the east end. These Injunctions were of course merely acts of royal authority, but the bishops had been glad to shelter themselves behind them in their efforts to obtain some kind of order between

the Scylla and Charybdis of recusant and precisian.

But the direction about moving the Table was differently interpreted by different members of the bench ; sometimes it was placed outside the chancel door, sometimes inside ; and the position of the minister varied greatly. Perpetual movement of the Table must have been a tiresome procedure ; and it is obvious from the evidence that in many places the order to replace the Table at the east end was neglected. This is shewn by Williams's action at Leicester. The consequence was that the Holy Table was used for all kinds of unsuitable purposes. Churchwardens would keep their accounts on it ; boys would lay their hats and satchels there ; many would lean against it in sermon-time, and men who came to mend the glass used it to knock nails in.

When the sense of good manners in church revived at the beginning of the seventeenth century, this treatment of the Holy Table was felt to be highly disorderly and irreverent, and a movement sprang up for putting the Communion Tables back to the position ordered in Elizabeth's Injunctions. It is possible that in many cathedrals the altar had always kept its ancient place—Parker notes that it was so in Canterbury—and this was seized upon as a

norm. By the time Laud became a bishop most of the cathedrals had fallen into line. He used his power to make parish churches follow suit. In 1629 he had moved the king to issue instructions commanding churchwardens to place the Communion Table in the old place. But Charles, on Laud's advice, went beyond Elizabeth, and issued an order which has left its mark on many churches in England and America to this day. He instructed the churchwardens "to set a rail before it to avoid profaneness ; and at the rails the communicants to receive the blessed Sacrament". This order was now reinforced by Laud's Vicar-General and became one of the principal Puritan grievances against him.

It is sometimes thought that a great fuss was made about a point of lesser importance, and one great authority has said that Williams's position in the matter "would have been accepted as satisfactory by the majority of religious people in England". That may be so ; it would be equally true to say that if Parker had abandoned the wearing of surplices in Elizabeth's reign, the majority of religious people in England would have been satisfied. But weakness on the part of the Archbishops in both instances would have certainly meant great ultimate loss to the Church of England.

For the Puritans were perfectly right in this ; they did not regard these outward signs as insignificant. They meant something ; they announced openly to all men that the Church of England was determined to regard itself as part of the Great Church of history, that Catholic body which Parker and Laud believed had never entirely lost the providential guidance of God's Spirit. There does not seem to have been any great difficulty in enforcing the prescription. The argument that profanation would be avoided appealed to all but the fanatical people. It was objected at Laud's trial that rails to fence the Holy Table were forbidden by law ; but, of course, they had exactly the same authority—good or bad—as had the Elizabethan Injunctions—royal command.

There was another regulation touching the altar that was a feature of Laud's metropolitan visitation. It is indicated in the statutes that he composed for his own Cathedral of Canterbury, by which it was required that the Dean and Prebendaries and other officers "at their coming in and going out of the Choir, and all approaches to the Altar, they should by bowing toward it, make due reverence to Almighty God". Similar clauses were inserted in the statutes of Win-

chester and other cathedrals. This also was brought up against him at his trial, but he is able to make a good defence. He shews that the custom was already in existence at Canterbury before he gave that cathedral its new statutes ; and he refers to ancient liturgical custom as illustrated by the use of the Venite at the beginning of service, " O come, let us worship and fall down, and kneel before the Lord our Maker ". His various answers shew in illuminating fashion what Laud understood the action to mean. His Puritan judge, Mr. Nicholas, of course, thought it was idolatry. But as Laud says, " This gentleman, by his favour, understands not the mysteries which lie hid in many parts of divinity ". They were entirely incapable of making distinctions.

This reverence to the altar comes far short of Divine worship . . . 'tis only " toward ", not " to " the Altar, and so far short.

Laud knows exactly what he is doing. He had ordered that such reverence be used as " is not dissonant to the Canons and Constitutions of the Church of England ". The reverence is not idolatry because it is not really to the altar, but to God.

Laud goes to the root of his position on

ceremonial in an eloquent passage when he says :

For my own part, I take myself bound to worship with body as well as in soul, whenever I come where God is worshipped. And were this kingdom such as would allow no Holy Table standing in its proper place (and such places some there are), yet I would worship God when I came into His House. And were the times such as should beat down churches, and all the "curious carved work thereof, with axes and hammers", as in Ps. lxxiv. 6 (and such times have been), yet would I worship in what place soever I came to pray, though there were not so much as a stone laid for Bethel. But this is the misery, 'tis superstition now-a-days for any man to come with more reverence into a church, than a tinker and his bitch into an ale-house.

He apologises.

The comparison is too homely, but my just indignation at the profaneness of the times makes me speak it.

If he was to shew reverence to God in this way, it was, he felt, natural that he should shew it in relation to the altar, "as the greatest place of God's residence upon earth"; and greater reverence was due to the altar than to the pulpit, since "a greater reverence, no doubt, is due to the Body than to the Word of the Lord".

What Laud meant by the reverence that he wished not being dissonant from the Church

of England is probably explained by a passage in a book written in 1635 by Bishop Morton of Durham on the Roman doctrine of the Mass :

The like difference may be discerned between their manner of Reverence in bowing towards the Altar for adoration of the Eucharist only, and ours in bowing as well when there is no Eucharist on the Table as when there is, which is not to the Table of the Lord, but to the Lord of the Table, to testify the Communion of all the faithful Communicants therewith.

The difficulty of the situation is revealed by the fact that the altars that spoke to Laud of God's glory were contemptuously referred to by his facetious opponents as "good Court cupboards ", or " dressers ". It was absurd to attempt to compel such men to ceremonial conformity. But Laud was not exacting with those who put in a reasonable plea not to be forced to unaccustomed gestures. One of the proctors of Oxford University complained in 1638 that the Vice-Chancellor had bidden him " either to bow towards the altar at the University common prayers, or forbear to officiate ". He pleaded that he was devoted to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, but begged that the Archbishop, if anything was to be introduced above and besides what is established, would himself

order him to do it, or “ be pleased to leave him to that liberty which our religious king and orthodox Church have allowed him ”. Laud refused to command him “ to do, or desist, or appoint any substitute, but leave him, and let him do, as it shall please God and himself ”. He knew he could not claim any legal authority in the matter, but he feared for “ all decency and order ”, if good customs are all to be “ kicked out ”, because no canon can be quoted on their behalf.

CHAPTER VIII

IRELAND AND SCOTLAND

LAUD's activities were not limited by the Irish Channel or the Tweed. Beyond these two boundaries lay two countries dissimilar in race and tradition to one another, and as much, if not more, unlike England itself. It had been the dream of the Tudors to unite them into one United Kingdom. When the first of the Stuarts ascended the throne the three countries were formally united under one crown ; but the union of hearts was far distant. Till that was accomplished the governing powers in London would always look uneasily to the North and to the West.

The English record in Ireland was bad. It was dominated by the delusion that Irishmen must be made into Englishmen. The Reformation in religion, that brought to England the blessings of a vernacular language, was used as an excuse for foisting English on the Celtic speaking Irish. From the out-

set this policy was calculated to harden that identification of Irish nationalism with Roman Catholicism that has ever since been one of the distinguishing marks of Irishmen all the world over. The work of the Tudors is still having its effect in New York and Melbourne. The plantation system, under which the most Protestant Scottish and English adventurers became possessed of some of the finest Irish estates, increased the bitter hatred of the native population for England and the English religion. The only justification of the "undertakers", as they were called, was that they would promote tillage, which the Irish neglected. But even in this they failed. The planters were often adventurers, draining the life of the country. A strong hand was needed. Wentworth supplied it.

Laud had hardly become Archbishop before his active mind looked to see what could be done for the country, which was then being ruled by his dearest friend; and his first letters begin on projects straight away. Wentworth had done and was doing much to promote order and encourage industry. A country, in which an illiterate peasantry, living like nomads on the milk that their cattle produced, were in a state of continual warfare with alien and grasping

landlords, formed an admirable field for the pursuit of a policy of "thorough". Wentworth sought the good of the country with remarkable courage and singleness of mind, and brought the greatest lords to book. He introduced discipline into the army, suppressed the pirates who had stopped trade, and introduced the flax industry.

But he saw that no permanent good could be done without encouraging education. If this was to be effected, he must look for the help of the Church. Unfortunately it was in no condition to perform this beneficent function ; it had suffered from the depredations of the landlords, who had laid hands on tithe, as they added field to field. Wentworth wrote to Laud a depressing account of the state of the Church in Ireland. "The reducing of this Kingdom to Conformity in Religion with the Church of England" was his aim "as well in perfect Zeal to the Service of the Almighty, as out of other weighty Reasons of State and Government." The two first needs are to repair the decay of the Churches and to provide an able clergy.

This poor Church, which hath long laid in the silent dark [is] many ways distempered ; and an unlearned Clergy, which have not so much as the outward form of Churchmen to cover themselves

with, nor their persons any ways revered or protected ; the Churches unbuilt ; the Parsonage and Vicarage Houses utterly ruined ; the People untaught thorough the Non-Residency of the Clergy, occasioned by the unlimited shameful number of Spiritual Promotions with Cure of Souls, which they hold by Commendams ; the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church run over without all Decency of Habit, Order or Gravity, in the Course of their Service ; the Possessions of the Church, to a great Proportion in Lay-hands ; the Bishops aliening their very principal Houses and Demesnes to their Children, and to Strangers ; Farming out their Jurisdictions to mean and unworthy Persons ; the Popish Titulars exercising the whilst a Foreign Jurisdiction much greater than theirs.

Schools are very bad, and lands given to charitable uses are diverted to private benefits.

Wentworth sees how reformation may be begun ; some able clergy must be brought over from England, education must be improved and the powers of the law strengthened. He goes about the matter on the principles of “thorough”. He forces the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, to resign by the offer of other lucrative preferment. And when, as Wentworth says to Laud, this gentleman has become “a dead Provost but a living Archdeacon, I went to the College myself, recommended the Dean to the Place, told them I must direct them to chuse the Dean, or else to stay until they should under-

stand his Majesty's Pleasure ". They chose the Dean, and a very good appointment it was. The Dean referred to was William Chappell, the Dean of Cashell, in whom both Laud, who had become Chancellor of the University (much against his will), and Wentworth himself recognised a colleague as unselfish and devoted as themselves.

Wentworth went farther—"rather out of my sphere ", as he himself said—in compelling the Irish Convocation to accept a set of Articles more akin to those of England than those which had formerly been accepted. He had "gone herein with an upright heart to prevent a Breach, seeming at least, betwixt the Churches of England and Ireland ".

Both Laud and Wentworth desired to see Ireland Protestant, and they wished the one Church to be the great bond of unity. But they knew that if the Anglican Church was to be in any way acceptable, it must be presented in its more Catholic aspect to the Celtic population, who were repelled by the extreme Protestantism of the Scotch and English settlers. Two men of wide views and pastoral heart were introduced from England. Wentworth had had occasion to observe the ability and devotion of a Yorkshire priest, John Bramhall, and he brought him

over to Ireland in 1633, securing for him the Archdeaconry of Meath. Soon after his arrival he wrote a letter to Laud which entirely confirms Wentworth's description of the state of the Church.

It is hard to say whether the fabrics be the more ruinous and sordid, or the people irreverent. Altars have been pulled down to make way for seats.

The richest man in Ireland, the Earl of Cork, who had started as a penniless adventurer, proclaimed his magnificence by building an immense tomb in S. Patrick's where the altar had stood. But Wentworth saw that that came down.

Bramhall was particularly concerned to see that the clergy had a living wage. By skilful management, and great personal generosity, he recovered £40,000 a year which had been stolen from the Church, which his enemies did not fail to bring up against him when the troubles came. "But his care was not determined in the exterior part only and accessories of religion," said Jeremy Taylor at his funeral. He also aroused admiration "at his mighty diligence and observation of his unusual zeal in so good and great things". He was a man after Laud's heart. To quote Jeremy Taylor again :

His care of reducing religion to wise and justifiable principles was called Popery and Arminianism, and I know not what names, which signify what the authors are pleased to mean, and the people do construe and hate.

To Bramhall it fell to carry on the Laudian tradition in exile, and to return to Ireland, when the Church was restored, as Archbishop of Armagh.

Bishop Bedell of Kilmore was another priest promoted by Wentworth. This saintly man made himself beloved by the Irish. He learnt their language, translated the Prayer Book, and insisted that his priests should follow in the same line. The work that Laud and Wentworth planned for Ireland was a great one ; if it had been carried on in their spirit, and with the help of such men as Bramhall and Bedell, the future might conceivably have been different. But such little progress as they had been able to make in a short time was arrested and forgotten, when Cromwell turned the country into a desert by savage measures, which fell on Celt and Saxon alike.

Wentworth was always urging Laud to adopt the principle of "thorough", which had been so successful in Ireland. But it was impossible to transplant the methods that

were successful with a divided and largely illiterate people to a country where national feeling was united, as even Laud saw. They both chafed at the difficulties they met with; and not the least of these difficulties were to be found in the court and at the council table. The queen was always unreliable, and the courtiers, seeking their private profit, were always on the lookout for opportunities. "The Lady Mora is extreme potent at Court", writes Laud, and even Wentworth has to reply, "the Lady Mora here is as heavy as lead". It was an expression they often used to indicate the delays their projects suffered. Wentworth once wrote urging Laud to get half-a-dozen able men to work with him, and the Archbishop pathetically replies, "as for your half-a-dozen able men that would set their hearts upon the business, you shall do well to send Diogenes with his lantern to look for them". Weston, though he had great ability, was much concerned to feather his nest; Cottington, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was intent on the same task; he was always working against Laud behind his back, and in the later stages, though a Roman Catholic, allied himself with the Puritans.

The king himself could never be relied

on to stick to any plan. Even Windebank, Laud's old pupil, who owed everything to the Archbishop, and was by his influence made Secretary of State in 1632, was gradually weaned away from him by the Roman priests in the queen's entourage. He was himself a Roman Catholic. So Laud was a lonely man; his affection and confidence could be freely given to one man alone—and he was in Ireland.

If it was difficult to apply the policy of "thorough" to England, it was still more difficult in Scotland. That country was not illiterate to the extent that Ireland was; the inhabitants were more industrious and thrifty, but they were rough and barbarous, and Scotland, even in its southern part, was far behind the rest of England. Intense jealousy of England was of long standing, and the union of the two countries was very imperfect. Even as late as 1701 the Scotch felt that "this loose and irregular tye of the Union of the Crowns" produced "a state wherein we are not considered as Subjects nor allies, nor Friends nor Enemies, but all of them, only when, where, how and how long our Task Masters please". Since the days of Mary, Queen of Scots, there had grown up a considerable intercourse and trade with

France, which was always looked upon with suspicion in England. The Scots thought too much money was being drawn to London, and began to feel that they were becoming the dependency of a distant king. The Scots have always found it easy to be suspicious ; the hardness of their climate and the difficulty of wresting a meagre living from an unwilling soil no doubt assisted to promote the trait. And they have always been good haters, not least in religion.

The Reformation was suppressed in Scotland with peculiar bitterness. And “ the reek of Patrick Hamilton (the first martyr) infected all on whom it did blow ”. A type of Protestant was bred thereby of a peculiarly dour and persecuting spirit. The old Church had never been well represented. There was little popular affection to act as some kind of shield against the barons, who were even more eager and determined to possess themselves of ecclesiastical lands than were their peers in England. They found in the Puritan preachers, whose fanatical zeal they used very cleverly, a magnificent instrument for their purposes. But many of them disliked intensely Knox’s *First Book of Discipline* because it spoke of the restoration of Church property.

King James had been glad to escape from

a nobility and a presbytery, each of which challenged in their different ways the kingly power. When he got to England he did his best to alienate the people of Scotland from Catholic order by appointing bishops who would be useful rather to himself than to the Church, and his command to them was 'not helpful. "To have matters ruled as they have been in your General Assemblies I will never agree, for the bishops must rule the minister and the king rule both." This was the right way to antagonise a Church deeply conscious of its spiritual authority.

Charles never understood Scotland. He secured the hostility of the powerful nobles by a quixotic attempt to make them disgorge the lands they had annexed from the Church, and he infuriated them even more by appointing Archbishop Spottiswoode to be Chancellor of the Kingdom in 1635. No doubt Laud's hand may be discerned in both moves. The latter especially fitted in with his idea of government by ecclesiastics who would put the national good before their own private enrichment. The feeling among the great men was well described by the Marquis of Hamilton, who was supposed to be Charles's principal Scottish adviser.

Neither stood they (the bishops) in better terms with the Nobility, who at that time were as considerable as ever Scotland saw them; and so proved more sensible of Injuries, and more capable of resenting them. They were offended with them because they seemed to have more interest with the King than themselves had . . . nine of them were Privy-Councillors. . . . And besides, they began to pretend highly to the Tithes and impropriations. . . . This could not but touch many of the Nobility to the quick, who were too large sharers in the Patrimony of the Church, not to be very sensible of it.

There is an element of truth in Laud's shrewd comment at his trial.

It is manifest to any with a single eye, that temporal discontents, and several ambitions of the great men, which had been long a-working, were the true cause of these troubles; and that religion was called in upon the bye, to gain the clergy, and by them the multitude.

If the nobles became anti-episcopalian because their pride was wounded, and their pockets threatened, they were easily able to persuade the ministers and a great number of the people that the "novations" in religion introduced in 1636 and 1637 were designed to enslave Scotland to the Pope. As Clarendon points out, it was the conflict in religion that wrought the final breach between the king and the Scots; for "a great part of their religion consisted in an entire detestation of popery,

in believing the Pope to be Antichrist, and hating perfectly the persons of all papists ". That this was the determining cause is confirmed by Hamilton.

The bishops were suspect because they preached against the devastating decrees of the Calvinist Synod of Dort. But the king took a course calculated to rouse feeling to fever point. In 1636 he issued Canons for the Church of Scotland, entirely on his own authority, and without consultation with any responsible people over the Border. Laud and Juxon had seen them, and they were on the Laudian model, but it is fairly clear that they disapproved of the manner of their imposition, since Heylyn protests that this action was both contrary to the constitutional practice of the Catholic Church, and unwise in view of the Scottish rejection of royal authority in spiritual matters. There were several things in the Canons that were highly objectionable from the Scottish point of view. Such were the forbidding of controversial preaching without the permission of the bishop (a sore trial to a Calvinist) and an apparent attempt to suppress extempore prayer. But most unwise was the requirement, imposed in the Canons, to use a Prayer Book, which nobody had as yet seen. It was

a bad preparation for that book when it did appear in the following year.

The character and history of the book has often been misunderstood. The Scots were not without a kind of liturgy. Knox's *Book of Common Order* held the field, though several attempts had been made to revise it. When Charles visited Scotland to be crowned in 1633, he was anxious that the Church there should have a liturgy like the English one ; and when the matter was pushed on later, both he and Laud would have preferred that Scotland should have simply adopted the English book. But the Scottish bishops hoped to appeal to the nationalism of their countrymen by shewing that it was different in various ways and had been composed by Scottish bishops. Unfortunately suspicion was so acute that the very changes that were made were reckoned as " more pregnant testimonies of his (Laud's) popish spirit and wicked intentions ". The book was in fact drawn up by certain Scottish bishops—of whom Bishops Maxwell and Wedderburn were the most influential—on the basis of the English book, but with the help of certain notes supplied by Laud. One of the changes to which most objections was taken was the transference of the Prayer of Oblation before

communion, "for no other end (as it was said) but that the memorial and sacrifice of praise mentioned in it may be understood according to the popish meaning". But, as Laud pertinently pointed out, "'Tis one thing to offer up His body, and another to offer up a memorial of His body, with our praise and thanksgiving for that infinite blessing".

He shewed his preference in an interesting passage.

Though I shall not find fault with the order of the prayers, as they stand in the Communion-book of England (for, God be thanked, 'tis well); yet, if a comparison must be made, I do think the order of the prayers, as now they stand in the Scottish Liturgy, to be the better, and more agreeable to use in the primitive Church; and I believe, they which are learned will acknowledge it.

His appeal to scholarship and true conservatism—"the less alteration is made in the public ancient service of the Church, the better it is, provided that nothing superstitious or evil in itself be admitted or retained"—fell on deaf ears in that fanatical age.

And, indeed, the book never had a chance. But the fault can hardly be laid at Laud's door. He had been most anxious that it should not be introduced except with the liking and approbation of the Kirk. "Nay

I did ever, upon all occasions, call upon the Scottish bishops to do nothing in this particular but by warrant of law." He opens his heart to Wentworth. "There was indeed an error in the direction and a great one; but I could not help it." The Scottish bishops kept the contents of the book quiet—not even all the bishops had seen it—and then suddenly an announcement was made "that the next Sunday the liturgy should be read". It is not surprising that there was a "combustion".

Many myths have grown up around the riot that took place in S. Giles's, Edinburgh, on that Sunday in July 1637. It had been carefully prepared. The occasion was recognised to be of unusual importance on both sides. Many of the leading ecclesiastical dignitaries were there. The Provost, Bailiffs, and other magistrates sat upstairs in the gallery. In the body of the church was a large number of maid servants, sent by their mistresses, and sitting on stools which they usually occupied till their mistresses came. On this occasion it is possible that they had received orders to be ready to make another use of them, no less agreeable to the noble ladies, but one more easily carried out by maid than by mistress. The Dean of Edin-

burgh began the service. It was the pre-arranged signal. Yelps and cries at once filled the church from the women in the nave. The Bishop of Edinburgh went to the pulpit and very properly begged for respect for the holy place. It was an appeal they could not understand. The only answer was a stool hurtling through the air, which was fortunately not well aimed. The Provost, summoned by the Archbishop of S. Andrews from the gallery, cleared the church of the unruly mob and locked the door. Outside a no less noisy crowd banged on the doors and pelted the windows with stones. The Bishop of Edinburgh was with difficulty got home in my Lord of Roxborough's coach; his Lordship himself being possibly not at all ill-pleased with what had occurred, but anxious lest too much violence might bring a reckoning.

This was the end for the time being of the liturgy which Laud had admired so much. But it was destined to bear fruit—first in England, where its influence can be traced in the changes made in 1662; and later in Scotland, where its memory never died out, and where, nearly a hundred years afterwards, the Communion service was authorised by the Scottish bishops. It was subsequently

revised several times. But it has ever since remained as an inspiration to the rest of the Anglican Communion. The liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America is based on it. It has influenced the worship of the Church of South Africa, and the Church of England is attempting to-day to incorporate some of the best features of the Eucharistic form which are "more agreeable to use in the primitive Church".

But the immediate consequences of the ill-judged enterprise in Scotland and in England were disastrous. The bishops for the most part fled from Edinburgh, and the lay lords were glad enough to call in the liturgy. Disaffection spread like wildfire, the forces of nationality and of religion were aroused. Clarendon, with some exaggeration, says, "All the kingdom flocked to Edinburgh, as in a general cause that concerned their own salvation". The nobles placed themselves at the head of a movement for extirpating episcopacy, which would *ipso facto* remove the fears of any further demands that their lands should be restored to the Church. In 1638 the National Covenant was drawn up and largely signed. A packed Assembly was summoned to Glasgow, from which all who were favourable to episco-

pacy were carefully excluded. The grossest calumnies were charged against the bishops, who, if foolish and short-sighted, were at any rate men of learning and piety, and their office was abolished. The country was by no means of one mind. At Aberdeen there was a centre of learning and reasonable religion. But Montrose scattered the Aberdeen "doctors", and the Covenant was imposed under the severest penalties. As Laud had tried to control the "lecturers" in England, so the Covenanters suppressed all private conventicles. They burnt witches and hunted out "malignants".

The extraordinary ignorance in England of things Scottish was shewn by the slowness of the Council to take action against this rebellion; for such it really was. Some of the Scottish advisers of the king were in secret sympathy with the Covenanters. But the Marquis of Hamilton was for war and the assertion of the royal authority, though he shewed himself vacillating, when it came to its prosecution. So was the proud Lord Arundell, who was afterwards placed in charge of the army—as Clarendon somewhat maliciously says, "for his negative qualities: he did not love the Scots; he did not love the Puritans; which qualifications were allayed

by another negative, he did not much love anybody else ". The empty-headed queen was on the same side. But Laud was not—at first, anyhow. He hated war at all times. " My counsels were for peace ", he said, when he was accused of stirring up war and enmity between England and Scotland,

as may appear by the counsel which I gave at Theobalds, in the beginning of these unhappy differences. For there my counsel was only to put a stay upon the business, in hope his Majesty might have a better issue without than with a war. And if I were mistaken in this counsel, yet it agreed with my profession and with the cause, which was differences in religion, which I conceived might better be composed by ink than by blood.

Nevertheless he was converted by the argument that the real question was whether the king was king or not ; and when war was decided upon, he recommended Charles to call upon the people for supplies, and he urged the bishops to lay it especially on the clergy to be generous in contributions. The appeal was responded to bountifully, the diocese of Norwich giving £2016 and the Archdeaconry of Winchester alone £1305.

In the end a considerable army was sent to Scotland under Lord Arundell, supported by ships under Hamilton, which anchored outside Edinburgh. If there was to be war,

all depended, as Wentworth and Laud saw, on energetic and decided action. Had it been taken then, the whole future history of England and of Scotland might have been different. But it is doubtful if it was possible. The Scots had certain decided advantages. They were defending their homeland; they had been able to summon to their assistance capable leaders and seasoned soldiers like Lesley, who had won military fame and science, fighting for the Protestant cause under Gustavus Adolphus. The religion of predestination fits in well with war, and its fervour was roused to a high pitch of exaltation by the violent exhortations of the preachers. The cultivated and reasonable philosophy of Anglicanism was not so well suited to these grim purposes. And there was another forbidding feature in the situation. The Scottish lords were in close touch with many on the king's side; they played upon the prejudices and fears of the English noblemen; they pointed out that they were not against the king; they called it a bishops' war, and urged a combination for getting rid of the prelates who were their common enemies. There was disaffection in the royal camp. Lord Brooke and Lord Saye and Sele were open in their opposition. Charles was

persuaded to accept a compromise, and the Pacification of Berwick was agreed to on June 17, 1639.

The king clung to his veto, but he consented to the abolition of episcopacy, and the annual holding of an Assembly. It was the death-knell of the royal power, as he conceived it. It was the first step which led on by steady marches to his own death and the temporary overthrow of the established religion in England. The backwardness of political development in Scotland had left a space vacant which had been occupied by a combination of nobles and Presbyterian ministers. The first military challenge of the dominant religion of Scotland had been successful. An astute policy was to be rewarded by fresh successes in the future. The time was coming when the ecclesiastical army which had rejected the English yoke would claim to rule the English people with the cruel fanaticism that doomed so many of their helpless fellow-countrymen to a terrible death, only to be met by a determination as fierce and ruthless as their own.

CHAPTER IX

EPISCOPAL GOVERNMENT

THE wind that blew from the North was full of danger to Laud, but storms of greater violence were gathering round him in England. In order to understand their nature it is necessary to pass quickly in review the history of affairs south of the Tweed during the latter years of Laud's reign of power. It is the political aspect of that power that is specially important.

Though the metropolitical visitation was being carried through without any violent opposition, the attempt to impose outward actions in religion was producing ill-feeling under the surface, more especially when it was enforced, as it was by the Vicar-General and by some of the bishops, in a legal spirit contrary to Laud's personal dealing in such matters. Laud was able to give but little attention to the visitation, once it was started on its way, as more and more administrative

responsibilities of all kinds fell on his shoulders. Laud's energy and vitality are amazing. But no one man could hope to fulfil adequately the functions of Archbishop of Canterbury, Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Universities of Oxford and Dublin, besides many other offices; least of all, one who had so exacting a conception of duty as had Laud. He held no office for ornament or for personal profit, or to minister to human pride; all was for the cause of Christian government, as he conceived it. The attempt to do too much was the cause of his own undoing. When in 1635 Richard Lord Weston, Lord High Treasurer of England, died, the Treasury was put into commission, and Laud was one of those to whom the responsibility was given, the others being Lord Cottington, the Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir Francis Windebank, the Earl of Manchester, who was Lord Privy Seal; and Sir John Coke, the Secretary of State. Two days later Laud was appointed to the Foreign Committee also.

These offices brought Laud into a dangerous province. Ever since Charles had ceased to summon parliaments, finance had been a difficult matter, and the expedients used to raise money became progressively

unpopular. Prices were rising, and the Government needed at least double the income that had sufficed in the time of James. Weston had been economical, though, to Laud's great indignation, he had helped himself largely out of public funds. In order to make ends meet Weston countenanced one method of adding to the exchequer and invented another, which were bound to arouse opposition. An obsolete survey of forest lands was revived and fines were imposed on all towns and villages standing on what had once been forest, on the plea that they were encroaching. This provision hit some of the nobles—for example Lord Salisbury—very hard, and, as they naturally felt, unfairly.

The other device arose from a special national necessity. The Committee of Trade which Charles had set up was industrious and useful; they found that English trade suffered severely from the depredations of pirates from Dunkirk, and even from Algiers. The French were also building a threatening navy. Armed ships were a necessity in order to convoy merchant vessels to and fro; but they were expensive things. Six fine vessels had been built between 1632 and 1634. They must be paid for, others added, and their crews main-

tained. In 1634 the ports and maritime counties were required to contribute to the support of the navy, and the duty was extended to the inland counties. "Ship-money", as it was called, became in the eyes of the people a tax levied by autocratic authority for purposes over which they had no control. Charles knew the necessity, he believed the demands to be legal, and his opinion was confirmed by a majority of the judges. But the only result was to make men regard the courts of justice as corrupt instruments of royal power. John Hampden, the Buckinghamshire squire, against whose refusal to pay ship-money the Exchequer Chamber pronounced in 1638, became a national hero. To refuse ship-money became a point of pride.

Another financial device, and one of old standing, was the granting of monopolies to groups of men in return for the payment of a certain proportion of the profits to the king. In Laud's correspondence we are always reading about "the soap business". It is a good example of the difficulties inherent in state management of industry. In Weston's day the old company of soap-boilers had been displaced in favour of a number of the Lord Treasurer's friends, which redounded very

much to their profit and very little to that of the king. Laud was enraged at the speculation that went on, and endeavoured to get the old soap-boilers restored. Lord Cottington, after Weston's death, fought hard to keep the business in his hands. His action in the matter shewed Laud the kind of man he was. Wentworth urged him not to trust him, but Laud characteristically replies, "The business of the sope hath washed off all that from me". In the end, however, the soap became so expensive and so bad that the old company was restored, largely through Laud's support.

These companies had a legitimate object; the encouragement of trade within the country. But it is obvious that they offered just such an opportunity for corruption as Laud had discovered and fought against. The country became rightly suspicious that money that should have gone to the king's purse was finding its way into private pockets. When the Parliamentarians came into power, they did not display any higher morals than the courtiers whom they had so righteously denounced. "Lady Verney tells me there is no hope of doing anything in the House of Commons except by bribery" is a comment made under the Parliamentary regime. Subsequent experience has shewn that a demo-

cratic form of government is even more easily corrupted by protective tariffs than is a monarchical. The interests of constituents merely replaces the rapacity of officers of state.

The whole financial administration was riddled with corruption in the time of the Stuarts. Laud opposed it strenuously ; but he found few supporters among the adventurers by whom he was surrounded. It was in order to stem the tide that he persuaded the king to appoint Juxon to the office of Treasurer in 1636. Laud's ideals of government are revealed in his record of the fact in his diary.

Mar. 6. William Juxon, L. Bp. of London, made Lord High Treasurer of England. No Churchman had it since Henry 7 time. [It was really Henry VI.] I pray God bless him to carry it so, that the Church may have honour, and the King and the State service and contentment by it. And now if the Church will hold up themselves under God, I can do no more.

The last sentence is especially significant, as an expression of Laud's conviction that the occupancy of great offices of state by bishops was the best means to win respect to the Church and acceptance of her teaching.

Juxon fulfilled Laud's expectations. He proved an industrious and economical

Treasurer, and scrupulously honest. But the very success of the system of episcopal government added to the fire that its creation had caused. Clarendon has wittily described the jealousy that was aroused.

The Treasurer is the greatest office of benefit in the kingdom, and the chief in precedence next to Archbishop, and the Great Seal: so that the eyes of all men were at gaze who shall have the great office, and the greatest of the nobility, who were in the chiefest employment, looked upon it as the prize of one of them ; such offices commonly making way for more removes and preferments.

And there were rumours, probably untrue, that other bishops were to be promoted to state offices. "There were others in view," says Clarendon, "of that Robe who were ambitious enough to expect the rest." A correspondent writes to Wentworth on April 5, 1636 :

Such a bruit here was in the Town, but I believed nothing of it. . . . The Clergy are so high here since the joining of the white sleeves with the white staff, that there is much talk of having a Secretary a Bishop, Dr. Wren, Bishop of Norwich, and a Chancellor of the Exchequer, Dr. Bancroft, Bishop of Oxford ; but this comes only from the young Fry of the Clergy, little Credit is given to it ; but it is observed they swam mightily about the Court.

What the nobility resented especially was that the bishops were men of no family. They

sprang from outside the charmed circle of the governing classes. They were not "one of us". Juxon, it was complained, had but two years before been an unknown man, merely the president of a poor college in Oxford. The aristocratic prejudice comes out in Mrs. Hutchinson's contemptuous reference to Laud as "a fellow of mean extraction"—that same Mrs. Hutchinson who congratulated herself that her husband had escaped the charms of the beautiful bourgeois young lady whose affections he had aroused, because, "though she was ingenuous enough, his great heart could never stoop to think of marrying into so mean a stock". Aristocratic jealousy and obstructed ambition combined with the layman's suspicion of the priest to embitter many powerful men, and not a few who would have been glad of the opportunities offered by a place of profit under the crown.

Laud's position as an officer of state brought him into an invidious position in another way. He was a member of two courts of summary jurisdiction, which incurred great odium. The Star Chamber was the name given to a court in which the King's Council took up those cases of criminal wrong-doing for which no redress could be had in the common Law Court. It received its name

from the blue star-painted roof of the room at Westminster in which it sat. It had been set up in the reign of Henry VI. to ensure swift justice to rich and poor alike. It had been greatly used in the time of the Tudors for that reducing of the semi-independent power of the nobles which was their great contribution to English freedom. It was a valuable court for dealing with over-mighty subjects. Its methods were quite different from those of the civil courts, which in the seventeenth century made it an increasing object of jealousy to the growing claims of the common lawyers. It was an instrument of government rather than a law court: its sentences did not depend on the finding of a jury—in fact jurors who had given false verdicts were one of the cases with which it dealt—but upon the votes of the councillors after secret examination of the prisoner and witnesses. It was in fact a remains of Roman rather than of English law. Clarendon says that while “it was gravely and moderately governed”, it “was an excellent expedient to preserve the dignity of the King, the honour of his council and the peace and security of his kingdom”. It certainly acted as some defence to the poor. Great proprietors, who ruined their humbler neighbours by enclosing

land, were haled to the Star Chamber, and fined or imprisoned ; which they never would have been by a court composed of their tenants. Sir Thomas Smith, whose book *De Republica Anglorum* throws so much light on the times just preceding our period, says that the effect of this Court is to bridle such stout noblemen, or Gentlemen which would offer wrong by force to any man, and cannot be content to demand or defend the right by order of law.

When the Star Chamber was abolished the last bulwark of the peasant against oppression was swept away.

It was a court that would appeal strongly to those who were attempting to govern England by executive rather than by deliberative action, and Clarendon points out that there was a tendency to draw more and more matters under its jurisdiction, so that it came to stand for the whole system of government that was arousing so much resentment. In the odium that attached to this court Laud had more than his fair share. The punishments of the Star Chamber were greatly magnified by interested parties, both as to their number and their severity ; and so the name sends a shudder to-day through many a schoolboy who associates the word with Torquemadan tortures and the Arch-

bishop of Canterbury. In fact the court could not touch life or property. Fines and imprisonment were its normal weapons. But one other method of dealing with criminals that is abhorrent to us was employed by it. It could place men in the pillory and crop their ears. This did not shock the seventeenth century as it does the twentieth, and it was of course no peculiarity of the Star Chamber.

But there was one famous case which provoked a strong reaction, partly, doubtless, because men were beginning to feel the barbarous nature of the punishment, but much more because of the persons, and the cause for which it was inflicted. An outbreak of libels upon the bishops began in 1637. Prynne wrote a book called *The News from Ipswich*, in which he referred to the Archbishop as "Arch-piety, Arch-charity, Arch-agent for the Devil", and other such elegant terms. He compared him to Beelzebub, and similar language was used of the whole Bench; Burton, a court chaplain disappointed of preferment, who had turned Puritan, also attacked the bishops, accusing them of exercising an illegal jurisdiction and of being Limbs of Antichrist and Antichristian "Mushrumps"; and one Bastwick,

a doctor, though Clarendon says that he was unknown to either University or the College of Physicians, broke out in a similar strain. They were brought before Council in the Star Chamber, where Laud had no difficulty in shewing the futility of many of their pleas and charges. But they were condemned to lose their ears in the pillory, and to fines and imprisonment.

It is difficult to be sure exactly what this punishment really involved, since Prynne had already suffered it once for his libel on the queen in *Histrion-mastix* ; but it was certainly painful and degrading. Laud refused to vote, because the matter touched himself ; but he approved the judgement, and must take his share of whatever blame belongs to it. It is probable that the common Law Courts would have inflicted something worse, as Laud hinted. What is certain is that many members of the three learned professions, especially those of the law and of medicine, conceived themselves to have been insulted by ignominious punishments which they thought should have been reserved for the common sort of people. But the real reason why the cases created so much stir was their value as a challenge to a regime growing daily more unpopular. Prynne and Burton and

Bastwick were crack-brained fellows ; but the severity which had been meted out to them had its uses in the hands of the leaders of the opposition.

Laud played a great part in another court whose doings are often confused with those of the Star Chamber, though their nature and functions were really quite distinct. It was one in which it was more natural to find an Archbishop than the Star Chamber. The High Commission was a sort of ecclesiastical Privy Council, which came into being under the Tudors for dealing with heresy, when the Papal authority was thrown off and the doctrine of the Royal Supremacy accepted. The Commission grew up because heresy constituted a danger to the whole fabric of Church and State. It was an administrative and judicial body in which ecclesiastics, ministers of state, and lawyers all found places ; and it dealt with all offences where the Church or ecclesiastical law came into question. The necessity for such a body was, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, undisputed. It was by no means arbitrary or cruel in its methods according to the standards of the time, and indeed compared favourably with the ordinary Law Courts. It flourished under Elizabeth, though the Com-

mon Law judges became increasingly anxious for its removal as an obstacle in their path, and also as a hindrance to the enrichment of the judges, who were quite as much concerned for their own pockets as for the majesty of the Law. Judges, it should be remembered, were paid by fees in those days, and if cases were few their revenue declined.

Fanatics who attacked ministers in church and tore off their surplices would be protected by prohibitions from the King's Bench. The controversy came to a head in the attacks of Lord Chief Justice Coke; the real point at issue was whether ecclesiastical authority inhered in the king, and had been resumed at the Reformation (as the civil and ecclesiastical lawyers held), or whether it had been conferred on him by statute (as the common lawyers held). The High Commission was a hybrid institution; it used ecclesiastical procedure, but inflicted temporal penalties. It could only continue so long as public opinion agreed with the Commission as to the true character of the Church; in the end it fell because there was opposed to it a vigorous and tenacious group of Englishmen who disputed hotly the whole Anglican conception of the Church. A powerful contributory cause was the jealousy of the

common lawyers ; but the most powerful reason for its removal was that, like the Star Chamber, it had proved a powerful and too effective instrument in the hands of an unpopular government.

The scope of the High Commission was considerably enlarged under Laud ; as Clarendon says, " By the power of some Bishops at Court, it had much overflowed the banks which should have contained it ". But there is very little evidence that it was more tyrannical or oppressive than at any previous time ; nor were its punishments as harsh as the nose-splitting and pressing with weights imposed by the Common Law Courts. It is difficult to believe that a court which was so freely resorted to, so crowded with lawyers and suitors, can have been widely unpopular among the people of England as a whole. The High Commission shared with the Star Chamber one great advantage ; litigation was far more speedily and evenly dealt with than in the ordinary courts. Big fines were imposed ; but they were very largely a matter of form and were remitted. One of the main objections raised to the Court by the Puritans was that it exercised the rights of visitation which should belong to a law court. Lord Justice Coke on the other hand objected to

it because it was not a law court but an administrative body. The truth was that its functions were, as has been said, both administrative and judicial. It was as legal an institution under Laud as it had been under Whitgift, Bancroft or Abbott. What probably helped to incense some men against it was the high-handed judgement of commissioners in local sessions of the Commission.

The Commission did not find most of its business in dealing with recusants or non-conformists. Suits for alimony, divorce, desertion, adultery, drunkenness and such moral offences were its principal field. But in most of the cases to which the Puritans took most exception, they had really committed the offence, refusing to put up altar rails or holding conventicles, or whatever it might be, and gloried in it. Their quarrel was not with the High Commission but with the Law, and still more, of course, with the power that made the law.

The cases of Bastwick, Burton and Prynne were diligently used by Laud's enemies. Throughout 1637 attacks on the Archbishop became more and more frequent. On July 7 he notes in his diary:

A note was brought to me of a short libel posted on the cross in Cheapside; That the Arch-Wolf of

Cant. had his hand in persecuting and shedding the blood of the martyrs.

In August another is sent to him by the Lord Mayor which was found by the watch at the south gate of S. Paul's — "That the devil had let that house to me". Two days later another appeared on the north gate declaring, "That the Government of the Church of England is a candle in the snuff, going out in a stench". Libels appeared by the dozen in prose and verse. Many of them remain; they are curious, but dull reading, being for the most part merely abusive, the counterparts of the modern gutter press. It would seem that they began to get on the Archbishop's nerves. From this time onward the notes in his diary seem to have a foreboding tone. Even the weather is bad. The king goes to appease the tumults in Scotland. "It was a very rainy day." The Queen - Mother of France seeks refuge in England, when she is turned out by Richelieu. There is "extreme windy and wet weather a week before and after. The watermen called it 'Q. Mother weather'." He goes home one night in his barge on the Thames from the Star Chamber, and there is a tempest. "I was never upon the water in the like storm; and was in great danger at



my landing at Lambeth Bridge ” ; and so on and so on.

Two circumstances in these latter years contributed to make Laud unpopular. His old enemy, Bishop Williams, had used his retirement at Buckden to gain friends among the “ Popular party ”. He had entertained the nobles and gentry lavishly. His book *The Holy Table, Name and Thing* was the one really effective criticism of Laud’s policy that had been made. Clarendon expresses the judgement of his time when he says that

it was a Book so full of good learning and that learning so close and solidly applied (though it abounded with too many light expressions) that it gained him reputation enough to do hurt ; and shew’d that, in his retirement with his books, he had spent his time very profitably. He us’d all the wit, and all the malice he could, to awaken the people to a jealousy of these agitations and innovations in the exercise of religion.

Above all he was “ ambitious to have it believed that the Archbishop was his greatest enemy ”. Certainly Laud feared him, and he had good ground to do so. Nevertheless he had, as has been seen, interceded with the king for him. But Charles hated him, because he always connected him with Felton’s murder of Buckingham.

For a long time Williams was involved in

law suits with the crown, on the ground that he had betrayed the secrets of the Privy Council. He was also accused of having tampered with witnesses. At length he was fined £8000, suspended from the exercise of his ecclesiastical functions, and committed to the Tower. Laud concurred in the sentence, and made a somewhat bitter speech on the occasion. Williams managed to get favour with the queen, who was already prejudiced against Laud because he opposed her extravagances and her Papist friends, and, through her offices, he was offered a bishopric in Ireland. But he said that he did not want to go to a country, ruled by a man "who once in seven months would find out some old Statute or other to cut off his head". So he stayed in the Tower for three years, and if Heylyn is to be trusted, never once went to church or received the Sacrament "as all other Protestant prisoners had been used to do : but kept himself only to his Private Devotions, to which his neerest Servants were not admitted". After events shewed that Laud would have been wise to have won this restless, ambitious, and not very scrupulous, prelate to his side. He was the one man whom Laud found it difficult to forgive ; but he probably regarded him as entirely

corrupt and self-seeking, for which indeed he had some justification. And yet there was something that, not unnaturally, offended many men in Laud's treatment of a fellow-bishop.

If Laud was open to blame in the matter of Williams, he certainly was not in relation to the other clamour that was increasingly raised against him—that he designed to bring in Popery. It is true that during Laud's period of office and while no Parliament was meeting, much more freedom was allowed to Roman Catholics. Clarendon expresses the situation well, when he says :

The Papists had for many years enjoy'd a great calm, being upon the matter absolved from the severest parts of the Law, and dispens'd with for the Gentlest, and were grown only a part of the Revenue, without any probable danger of being made a Sacrifice.

They were condemned to be fined, but frequently let off. However, they abused their liberty, and constantly behaved in such a way as to arouse prejudice, the queen especially acting with incredible folly.

They attempted [says Clarendon] and sometimes obtained Proselytes of weak uninformed Ladies, with such circumstances as provoked the Rage, and destroy'd the Charity of great and powerful families, which longed for their Suppression.

A famous case was that of Lady Newport, whose conversion in 1637 infuriated her husband to such an extent that the subject came up for discussion by the Council, where the king spoke his mind very freely. The behaviour of some of the members of the Council itself was calculated to arouse suspicion. Arundell was a known Papist, and it was suspected that Secretary Windebank was a secret one ; he certainly hid priests in his own house, and committed absurd administrative blunders.

Laud's position in regard to the Papists was both clear and reasonable. He openly opposed fanatics who called the Pope Anti-Christ. He refused to say that Papists were not Christians, and he definitely desired to treat them with leniency, if only they would behave sensibly. But this was expecting too much. He was anxious that the queen should have freedom to worship in her own way, and there are many entries in his diary which indicate that he tried to persuade her to be discreet—a hopeless task. He allowed Papal representatives—first of all Con, a Scotchman, and afterwards the Count of Rosetti—to find a place among her entourage—but he always took care to have nothing to do with these gentlemen. His kindness

served him little with those for whose benefit it was intended, and often caused the wildest suspicions among the Puritan party. Laud was prepared, and indeed anxious, to be tolerant; but the idea that he was trying to bring England over to Popery has been recognised by every modern historian as absurd. When Lady Newport's case came before the Council, he spoke plainly to the king about the dangers attendant upon the increase of the Roman party. Report of what he had said was carried at once to the queen and increased her ill-humour against the Archbishop.

One afternoon Heylyn went into the Archbishop's study on some business or other, and found the Archbishop sitting in a chair holding a paper in both hands, and his eyes so fixed upon the paper that he never observed his chaplain's entrance. Heylyn discreetly withdrew, but disturbed him in the doing of it. The Archbishop told him, after some short pause, that he well remembered he had sent for him, but could not tell for his life what it was about.

After which he was pleased to say (not without tears in his eyes) that he had then newly received a letter, acquainting him with the revolt of a person of quality in North Wales to the Church of Rome,

and that he knew that the increase of Popery would be imputed unto him and the Bishops who were least guilty of it.

It was in 1638 that Laud had his book against Fisher printed so as to make his attitude clear. The book shewed how firm a grasp Laud had of the Anglo-Catholic position. He grieved "to see Christendom bleeding in dissension, and, which is worse, triumphing in her own blood, and most angry with them that would study her peace". He saw two fiercely contending parties each claiming all truth and holiness for itself, and asserting that salvation could be found with them alone. His whole soul revolted against this unchristian narrowness, as Augustine had against the Donatists of old. "Salvation is not shut up into such a narrow conclave. The Catholic Church of Christ is neither Rome nor a conventicle." Out of that Catholic Church he freely confessed there could be no salvation. He wished to lay open those wider gates of the Catholic Church confined to no age, time or place; nor knowing any bounds but that "faith which was once"—and but once for all—"delivered to the saints". He longed for men to put away many of the idle points on which they disputed. To many questions

the Church had no answer. "And that which the Church cannot teach, men cannot learn of her. She can teach the foundation, and men were happy if they would learn it."

He believed in the Universal Church as one. It did not exist in the air or in the imagination; it existed in particular Churches of which the Roman was one and the English another. Just because he had this Pauline sense of reality he longed to see the particular Churches visibly one—but not at the expense of truth.

There was much talk of a "Reconciliation" in those closing years of his archiepiscopate. He had no hand in the negotiations that went on, in which the Bishop of Chichester was busy. There was talk of granting independence to the Bishops of England, of a married clergy, of receiving communion in both kinds, of auricular confession and a vernacular liturgy, with no innovations in doctrine on what was generally recognised as Catholic. Some representatives of the Roman Church were willing to go so far.

The Archbishop of Canterbury did not attempt to stop these conversations. It was surely good that Christian people should confer. But the people who were most

certain that Laud would never accept a union that meant submission to claims that he believed to be unjustified by Scripture and condemned by history were the Jesuits. The man, who had written in his notebook the satirical comment "The Papacy of Cant. and this other world is of greater value than an Italian cardinalship", was not moved by personal ambition or national pride. He had a clear-eyed view of the facts.

There was much of the Aristotelian in Laud—he believed in the mean—but there was more of that true Catholicism which desires to include and does not fear the misunderstanding that such a course inevitably wins. Just as he had promoted the Puritan lecturer, "godly Master Sibbes", to be Master of Trinity, and had obtained the appointment of learned and pious Calvinists like Hall and Davenant to bishoprics, so would he have been glad to be on good terms with Papists, and win them to see that the essentials of Catholic religion were to be had in the reformed Church. He knew that they loved best the religion that came with decorous and external splendour.

But such a broad and far-seeing policy was anathema to that grim age. Extremists combined to wreck Laud and his policy and the

whole system for which he stood. The queen's party even entered into negotiations with the stricter Protestants to secure his downfall. Against a combination of Jesuit and Puritan moderate men were, for the time being, powerless.

CHAPTER X

THE CRISIS

As the year 1639 drew to a close, events hurried on to their climax. The Scots had done nothing to fulfil the so-called Pacification of Berwick; the bishops were not restored, and the Scots army, increasing in numbers, stood threatening on the Border. The unity of the kingdom seemed plainly threatened. If the king's authority was to be maintained, he must assert it; for that an army was necessary, and an army must be paid. On December 5 Laud notes :

The King declared his resolution for a Parliament, in case of the Scotch rebellion. The first movers to it were my L. Dep. of Ireland, my L. M. Hamilton and myself. And a resolution voted at the Board, to assist the King in extraordinary ways, if the Parliament should prove peevish and refuse.

It was the Juncta, or, as it was beginning to be called, the Cabinet Council, that made the proposal; but the whole Council approved.

Two great changes followed. In January Wentworth was made Earl of Strafford and became in effect the king's chief councillor. It was what Laud had long wished. It meant in some ways his own supersession ; but he was glad to make way for one who was fit for the grave work that lay ahead. The other important change was the actual calling of a parliament. It was a great moment when, on April 13, 1640, after eleven years' intermission, the Lords and Commons once more assembled at Westminster. Sir John Finch, the Lord Keeper, expressed the Government's conception of the purpose of Parliament in his opening speech : " By you, as by a select choice and abstract, the whole kingdom is presented to his Majesty's royal view, and made happy in the beholding of his excellent and sacred person ".

The omens were in many ways propitious. A majority of the members were, as Clarendon, who was himself a member, said, unbiassed men, though they were aware of their grievances ; well-affected citizens were growing tired of the arbitrary methods of raising money, and a government in which they had no say. These grievances came out at once. The Lord Keeper had pointed out that they were summoned to ward off

the danger from the Scots. To which Sir Harbottle Grimstone replied that "the danger that hath now been presented to the house, it standeth at a distance; and we heartily wish it was further off". But there was something they cared about nearer home; and he wanted to fall at once to a discussion of the dangers to the liberty of the subject. A large number of members, however, wished to go carefully.

Sir Benjamin Rudyard expressed the mind of many hearers, when he pleaded that "a Parliament is the bond of reconciliation between king and people", and urged moderation as the best way "to vindicate God in his religion, the king in his honour, and the commonwealth in its gasping extremities".

The king himself had shewn a readiness to compromise. He acknowledged that the grant of tonnage and poundage should come from Parliament, and he promised not to dissolve the House of Commons till they had had a full opportunity of discussing grievances. But the danger was imminent; the Scots were intriguing with the French king. The need for money was urgent; let them give the subsidies and get on with the war. But the king miscalculated the forces against him. Though the House as a whole was well

meaning, it was easily led, through ignorance of public affairs, and it shewed the infirmity that often descends upon elected bodies at times of crisis.

There was a small group of determined men who knew what they wanted. They found a spokesman in Pym. In a brilliant speech of two hours' duration, couched in studiously moderate terms, to suit the temper of the House, he played upon their prejudices with a practised hand. The selling of knight-hoods, the enlarging of the bounds of the forest, military charges, monopolies, ship-money, the Star Chamber, and most of all the intermission of Parliament. The grievances of religion were touched, to make the stew more tasty; but rather as they affected foreign alliances and dangers. A practical purpose dominated this able discourse—to keep to those things which created a widespread feeling of discontent and ward off any practical consideration of finance.

The chief purpose was to irritate the king, by prolonging debate so as to make it seem that Parliament was useless. Hyde tried to rescue the situation. But the House was inclined to fall into the trap, when a surprising assistant appeared, to bring the scheme to perfection. Sir Henry Vane, a bitter

enemy of Strafford and Laud, had been appointed Secretary of State, by the queen's influence. Just when things required the most delicate handling, he made violent demands of the House, and when it hesitated, he rushed off to persuade the king to dissolve Parliament. It was a sinister action. There is good ground for Clarendon's view that he acted maliciously and to bring all into confusion. His son was in open alliance with the Puritans, and telling their leaders court secrets.

From the moment they saw the reasonable temper of the House the Puritans were determined to wreck it, and were delighted with their success. "All was well," St. John said in answer to Hyde's genuine sorrow that an opportunity that all good men should have striven to seize had been lost. "It must be worse, before it could be better."

It was worse; England was rent with civil war. On both sides many good men perished, and deep wounds of hate were inflicted on English society. Charles must accept some of the blame. But it was not his entirely. Already an alliance was on foot between the Puritan leaders and the Scots to reduce the two kingdoms to the same way of thinking, to bring the king to his knees,

to disestablish the Church and to set up Presbyterianism. And much aid was given to them by the hordes of Jesuits, who now flocked into the country to foment trouble, at the instigation of the infatuated queen, and the traitors who surrounded her.

There was only one way in which this situation could have been dealt with. Wentworth's principles of "thorough" would have done it, and he could have carried these into execution. If the elections had been "made", as they have often been in democratic countries, and then followed up by swift executive action, the result might have been different. If, on the other hand, Charles had held the views of a Mussolini or a Lenin, it is just possible that he might have inaugurated a regime like that of Louis XIV. But he could do none of these things. He had plenty of courage, but he hated violence, and shrank from nothing more than the display of force. He trusted to the inherent truth of his principle; he wished to govern not by a military tyranny but by Right Divine. He had done so for ten years. But for a much longer period than that a tenacious group had been formed in the body politic who were set on their own way, and had no shrinking from ruthlessness. They saw their chance of

imposing their conception on England ; and nothing could shew the people of England the danger they were in, except the use that the Puritans were to make of their opportunity when it came. Already events marched to the arbitrament of blood.

Laud was perhaps not a good adviser for Charles, but he saw more clearly than the king did whither things were tending. He recognised that the Church was between the two factions of Romanist and Separatist "as between two millstones, and unless your Majesty look to it, to whose trust she is committed, she will be ground to powder, to an irreparable both dishonour and loss to this kingdom". He feared, as his correspondence with Wentworth shews, what lay beyond the demand for a parliament. But he believed in Parliaments. "There are divers businesses of greatest consequence," he says in his *Conference with Fisher*, "which cannot be finally and bindingly ordered, but in and by Parliament ; and particularly the statute laws, which must bind all the subjects, cannot be made and ratified but there." It had been useless for many years to advise Charles to call a parliament. But now it had been called, both Laud and Wentworth desired that it should be given a chance. By the irony of fate, when it

was dissolved, the blame fell chiefly on them, because those who desired the downfall of the regime found it easier to aim at the minister than the Sovereign, and most important to attack those who were true to him rather than the adventurers who could be trusted to desert him.

Invitations to attack Laud broke out with increasing venom the moment the Parliament was over. A notice was posted on the Old Exchange urging the London apprentices to sack his house. Two nights afterwards Lambeth was beset with 500 of "these rascal routers". But though they bombarded the place for two hours, they found the Archbishop had fortified his house to some purpose. "God be thanked, I had no harm," he says, "and hope all may be safe."

Meanwhile he took a course of action which furnished his enemies with another weapon. When Parliament was summoned, the Convocations of Canterbury and York, according to custom, were summoned also; but, contrary to custom, their session was extended when Parliament was so suddenly dissolved. The principal reason for this was to draw up a considered statement of the position of the Church of England. Laud had doubt about the legality of continuing, as

had other members ; but these were set at rest by a considered opinion delivered by the principal officers of the law. A remarkable series of canons was drawn up, which had great influence in preserving the character of the Church in later days ; and we may well believe that Laud was looking ahead to a happier time, which would supervene on the trials and troubles that were coming on the land and on himself. The immediate danger was emphasised by the necessity for a guard which the king sent, under the leadership of Mr. Endymion Porter, to protect the place where the clergy were deliberating. But unruffled calm prevailed inside, and the clergy addressed themselves to their important task in a solemn and serious spirit. It was said afterwards that Laud imposed the canons that were made on an unwilling House. There is no evidence that this was so ; they represented, as the history of the Commonwealth proved, the deliberate mind of the reasonable and cultivated majority of the clergy of England.

The importance of the canons makes it worth while to consider them somewhat in detail. They began with an expression of faith that the most high and sacred order of kings is of divine right. The main question

of the day required a reassertion of the principle by which the English Reformation had been made possible ; and its point was emphasised by a rejection of “any independent coactive power either papal or popular calculated to undermine the sacred office”. Another canon looked to the growth of popery. Recusants were to be dealt with by persuasion ; but if they persisted, they were to be first excommunicated, and then brought to the notice of the secular power. Books favouring Socinianism were to be done away with, and the same proceedings that were proposed in regard to recusants were to be employed with Brownists, Separatists and those who refused to join in lawful worship.

But the most important canon, as after events shewed—to the great surprise of its authors—proved to be one requiring all clergy to take an oath to support the doctrine and discipline established in the Church of England. It contained the words :

I will not endeavour . . . to bring in any popish doctrine, contrary to that which is so established : nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this Church by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, etc., as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and superstitions of the see of Rome.

No one could have foreseen the storm that would arise over that little "etc.". As Laud pointed out at his trial, it was parallel to many other similar oaths that were required of holders of public offices. However, when suspicions were sharp, people got it into their heads that they were swearing away their souls to some vague authority, and even reasonable men like Baxter thought it contained some fearful threat. "As for their gross and absurd etcetera," said one member of Parliament, "wherein they would have men swear, they know not what, nor how many fathom, there is neither divinity or charity in it." The same gentleman objected to archdeacons because he could not find them in Scripture. Others objected that Etcetera included Lay-Chancellors and Surrogates. "And was it ever known that all the clergy was sworn to such an anomalous rabble?" The real weakness of the oath lay in the fact that it was imposed, not only on the clergy, but also on physicians and schoolmasters; and it did seem, not unnaturally, a trenching on the privileges of Parliament to impose an oath without its consent.

Other canons dealt with the position of the altar under the east window, with the interesting explanation that the situation did

“not imply that it is or ought to be esteemed a true and proper altar, wherein Christ is again really sacrificed ; but it is and may be called an altar by us in that sense in which the primitive Church called it an altar and in no other”. Rails were ordered to prevent profaneness ; and making a reverence was heartily recommended to all good and well-affected members of the Church. For the last practice the justification was given that we have met with before ; that it did not rest upon “any opinion of a corporal presence of the body of Jesus Christ on the holy table, or in mystical elements, but only for the advancement of God’s majesty, and to give Him alone that honour and glory that is due unto Him, and no otherwise”. This gesture was only recommended : it was not ordered ; and the rule of charity was urged, “that they which use this rite, despise not them who use it not, and that they who use it not, condemn not those that use it”. A more imperious order had been suggested by a proctor from Bristol. But it was rejected, and the reasonable recommendation substituted with general assent.

Other canons dealt with a question on which the clergy have then and since felt deeply, the charges of ecclesiastical lawyers.

This was a subject that aroused Convocation to a high pitch of oratory. But the Dean of the Arches was brought in "to moderate the fervor of their proceedings by the Force of Reason"; with the result that canons were passed which dealt with real rather than with imaginary grievances.

Other good work was done in the Convocation. Provision was made for translating the Bible into Welsh; and interesting projects were brought forward, such as the translation of the Prayer Book into Latin, and the provision of a Pontifical, which should contain the Coronation Service and forms for consecrating churches and churchyards. But these perished in the troubles.

These canons of 1640 were not forgotten when Sheldon, the Prolocutor, and Cosin, and others who had helped to make them, returned after the dictatorship came to an end. At the time they added fuel to the fire of hatred that was burning against the Church; as quickly appeared, when Charles, in desperate straits for money, responded to three petitions from the Opposition Lords, from the city of London and from the Scots, and summoned a parliament.

This historic assembly, which met at Westminster on November 3, 1640, was to

achieve a fame that it little realised : for it was said that it was a parliament which many, before that time, thought would never have had a beginning ; and afterwards thought that it would never end. The temper of the House of Commons was vastly different from that of the last Parliament. We know little or nothing about the elections. Feeling had grown much stronger in the country during the summer. But there is little doubt that pressure of every kind had been used to put the " Popular Party " in the saddle. Many of the boroughs were in the hands of nobles who were now on the Puritan side, and a combination of circumstances led men to pursue a common aim. As Baxter says :

the Concord of the Parliament consisted not in the unanimity of the Persons (for they were of several tempers as to matters of Religion), but in the complication of the interests of those Causes which they severally did most concern themselves in.

Some objected to what they regarded as attacks on property, others were more concerned with what they regarded as innovations in the Church. Both could be traced to royal authority, and the point on which the majority were agreed was that the Prerogative must be kept within bounds.

Parliament got quickly to work. Pym set

the aim, when he said that the country's liberty was subjected to the arbitrary power of the Privy Council, who governed the kingdom according to their will and pleasure. And he quickly gave it a clear objective, when he attacked the one man who was sufficiently strong and clear-sighted to uphold the king's authority, and was ready to meet the offensive with a counter-offensive. On November 11 Strafford was accused of high treason, and on November 25 he was sent to the Tower. From that moment a rift began in the majority. There were men who were rightly anxious to assert the financial and other rights of the House, but they disliked these extreme measures. There were others who were out for blood. Their methods are fairly described by the honest Puritan Baxter.

The Londoners petitioned for Justice : And too great numbers of Apprentices and others (being emboldened by the Proceedings of the Parliament, and not fore-knowing what a fire the Sparks of their temerity would kindle) did too triumphingly and disorderly urge the Parliament, crying Justice, Justice. And it is not unlikely that some of the Parliament men did encourage them to this, as thinking that some backward Members would be quickened by Popular Applause.

He strongly condemns the countenance given to such disorderly acts.

The King called them *Tumults* : the Parliament called them the *Cities Petitioning*. But disorderly means do generally bring forth more disorders, and seldom attain any good end for which they are used.

The tragic king was deprived of all his friends. Finch and Windebank had fled ; Laud and Strafford were in prison. A crowd that were clamouring for their death might be taken as some excuse for the king's weakness in signing Strafford's death-warrant. In view of Baxter's words it can hardly be urged, as is done by an eminent modern historian, in defence of the action of the House of Commons. The legality of Strafford's trial is, at least, questionable, and the most recent authority to investigate the matter, Lord Birkenhead, pronounces against it. Charles was tortured by doubt and misery. Two bishops stood beside him to give advice. The high-principled Juxon bade the king refuse his assent to Strafford's death, " seeing he knew his Lordship was innocent ". Williams belonged to a different order of prelacy. He had always contrived to square his conscience with his interests, and could not conceive that it would be any harder for the king. Williams told the king he had a private and a public conscience. His public conscience told him to preserve his kingdom

in peace for himself and his posterity. He warned him that he himself was in danger, and also the queen, and he said "it would be very strange if his conscience should prefer the life of one single private person, how innocent soever, before all those other lives, and the Preservation of the Kingdom".

Strafford showed himself to be of another mould. Archbishop Usher, who was allowed to attend him in his last moments, brought him a message from his brother-in-law, Denzil Hollis, that he could save his life if he would join the movement then on foot for extirpating the episcopacy. He proudly refused. As he said on the scaffold, where he comported himself with magnificent courage, "he died a true son of the Church of England in which he had been born and bred; for the peace and prosperity whereof he most heartily prayed."

Strafford greatly desired to receive the last blessing of his old friend. Speech was harshly denied. "Though I do not see the Archbishop yet give me leave to do my last observance to his Rooms," he requested. The Archbishop was warned when he would pass. By a great effort the old man came to the window of his prison. The Earl bowed himself to the ground saying, "My Lord,

your Prayers and your Blessing ". The Archbishop lifted up his hand and, overcome with emotion, fell fainting to the floor. The Earl bowed a second time, saying, " Farewell, my Lord, God protect your innocence ", and marched to his death, as was noted at the time, more like a general at the head of his army than a condemned man going to his execution. He carried his head high, because he was sure of his integrity. One of the greatest Englishmen of his age, he had in many ways a more clear-sighted vision of what the country needed than any other man of his day, though he never had full opportunity to use his great powers. But we must return to him whose efforts to introduce decency into worship and comprehension into religion the *Vox Populi* had declared to be Popery.

CHAPTER XI

THE SEED IS SOWN

ON the 18th of December Laud was accused of high treason in the Commons, and the message was brought by Denzil Hollis to the Lords, where on the same day he was accused by the Scots Commissioners of being an incendiary between the nations. He was committed to the custody of the gentleman usher. But he was allowed to return to Lambeth "for a book or two to read in", and to collect his papers.

As he walked round the house, the mind of one who saw things in their historical setting must have been full of strange thoughts, and the memory of Cranmer could hardly fail to have been among them. He saw the windows, where Archbishop Morton had set the whole story of redemption from the Creation to the Day of Judgement, which he had so carefully restored. He saw the chapel, whose reticent adornment was one of the charges brought

against him. He may, too, have seen the Bible with the five wounds of Christ fair wrought on the cover of it, which he had kept in his study lest any should take offence at it. He saw the pictures that he left to the see, especially perhaps that of the fathers of the Church and the *Ecce Homo*, which were treated as plain proofs of idolatry at his trial. As he passed through the parlour, his eye would light on the harp, the chest of viols, and the “ harpsico ”, which he mentions in his will.

He walked, maybe, in the garden where he had loved to walk. It was not without its omens.

When I first came to Lambeth [Laud writes to Wentworth in 1638] there were in the walks song-thrushes which even began to sing in February, and so continued, and the nightingales followed in their season. Both of these came my first year, I think to take their leave, for neither of them hath appeared ever since ; and I presently said I should have a troublesome time in that see, and so it proved.

He had always feared that “ the old beldame of Canterbury would prove a notorious shrew to me ”. But the next year he is able to write, “ The nightingale is come again and sings lustily. May not I prophesy now that my time will be better ? ” The garden was

full of memories of men with whom he had talked, often to good purpose, as he walked up and down in his brisk fashion, of "the ever-memorable" John Hales and Chillingworth and Heylyn; and perhaps most of all the remarkable interview which he had had with Hyde, when the bustling young lawyer came to warn him that many people spoke extreme ill of his Grace, as the cause of all that was amiss. He told him that important people had been to see him, and been kept waiting, and that, when they were admitted the Archbishop spoke sharply, saying he had no leisure for a compliment, and hurried away. Hyde pointed out that these stories were getting about and doing him harm. Laud perhaps remembered that he had really taken it very well. He knew he spoke with a sharpness of voice which made men think he was angry when he was not. But he remembered how intolerable so many interruptions in his busy life had been, and smiled, perhaps, as he thought of the pompous young man who had so kindly been putting him to rights, and was glad that there had been no hastiness of speech from him on that occasion.

As he walked through the cloister, his mind may have turned to his dear friend Lord Scudamore, whom he had given many walks

up and down as they talked. He may have said Good-bye to his many cats. But one thing we know he did.

After some little discourse (and sad enough) with my steward and some private friends, I went into my chapel to evening prayer. The Psalms for that day (Pss. 93 and 94) gave me much comfort, and were observed by some friends then present, as well as by myself. And upon the comfort I then received, I have every day since (unless some urgent business prevented me) read over those Psalms, and God willing, purpose so to do every day of my life.

His piety was deep and unquestioned. It was to be a strong stay in the dark years that lay ahead. In his *Devotions* there is a touching prayer apparently written at that time.

Give me full patience, proportionable comfort, contentment with whatsoever Thou sendest, and a heart ready to die for Thy honour, the King's happiness, and the Church's preservation.

As he went to his barge, a surprise awaited him. "Hundreds of my poor neighbours stood there, and prayed for my safety, and return to my house." The Archbishop, who had no such expectation, blesses God and them. The poor loved him, because he never forgot them; they dimly guessed, maybe, that he had fallen a victim to the jealousy of the rich and powerful. It is not without significance that four days afterwards

he was fined £500 because he had imprisoned a noble adulterer.

Laud stayed at first at the house of Mr. Maxwell, the Usher of the Black Rod, in whose charge he was ; and his visit there gives us a pleasant glimpse.

During which time he gained so much in the good opinion of the Gentlewoman of the House, that she reported him to some of her Gossips, to be one of the goodest men, and most pious Souls, but withal one of the silliest fellows to hold talk with a lady that ever she met with in all her life.

Laud was no ladies' man ; it would have served him better with the queen if he had been. His was essentially a masculine intelligence, bent on affairs, and on getting things done.

For ten weeks Laud remained in this comfortable imprisonment, and was then summoned to the House of Lords to hear the charges made by the Commons against him. There were fourteen of them. They were either vague, untrue, or frivolous : and Laud had no difficulty in answering them. The first contained the real charge.

That he hath traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom and instead thereof to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government against law ; and to that end hath wickedly and traitorously advised

his Majesty that he might of his own will and pleasure levy and take money of his subjects without their consent in Parliament.

It was true that Laud had supported the king in levying taxes without consulting Parliament. But the Archbishop was quite clear that he had never advised anything illegal. In fact he was always a great stickler for law, and all the King's measures had been declared legal by the Law Officers. The truth was, as Harrington acknowledged in his *Oceana*, that the laws were ambiguous. Laud demanded to know what the fundamental laws were that were broken. To this no answer was possible. It was against custom that Charles had transgressed, and custom was winning increasing respect ; but that was all. Charges of corruption galled Laud ; but there was no truth in them. An attempt was made to prove that the canons passed in the last Convocation were against the king's prerogative, which even the accusers cannot really have believed. Laud says that he is prepared to prove that the canons are "orthodox and moderate, and most necessary for the present condition of the Church of England ; how unwelcome soever to the present distemper".

The charge of setting up Popish supersti-

tion and idolatry was inevitable. His answer presents simply and truthfully the whole meaning of Laud's policy.

All that I laboured for in the particular was that the external worship of God in this Church might be kept up in uniformity and decency, and in some beauty of holiness. And this rather because, first, I found that with the contempt of the outward worship of God, the inward fell away apace, and profaneness began boldly to show itself. And secondly because I could speak with no conscientious persons almost, that were wavering in religion, but the great motive which wrought upon them to disaffect, or think meanly of the Church of England was that the external worship of God was so lost in the Church (as they conceived it) and the churches themselves, and all things in them suffered to lie in such a base and slovenly fashion in most places of the Kingdom. These, and no other considerations, moved me to take such care as I did of it; which was with a single eye, and most free from any Romish superstition in anything.

Laud answered with equal truth that the so-called innovations were merely "restorations of the ancient approved ceremonies in and from the beginning of the Reformation, and settled either by law or custom".

There was a charge that he had tried to reconcile the Church of England with that of Rome. He did not attempt to deny that he had even heartily prayed for the peace and reconciliation of torn and divided Christendom,

but only such a one as might stand with truth. He was also able confidently to affirm "I have hindered as many from going to the Roman party, and have reduced as many from it—and some of great quality, and some of great learning and judgement—as I believe any divine in England hath done. And this is the way to bring in 'Romish superstition', to reduce men from it?" Moreover he was able to affirm with equal truth—

Many recusants in England and many of that party beyond the seas, think I have done them and their cause more harm, than they which have seemed more fierce against them. And I doubt not, but I shall be able to prove that I have been accounted beyond sea the greatest enemy to them that ever sat in my place.

"And shall I suffer on both sides," he pathetically cries. Laud was said to have oppressed the French and Dutch Churches. What he did was to insist that the second generation should conform to the National and Protestant Church of the country, to which their parents had fled for protection; a perfectly intelligible assertion of the well-known principle of the time *cujus regio ejus religio*, a principle applied to Scotland by the Presbyterians in regard to the Episcopalians.

Laud felt the more justified, because he found that these foreign churches came to be regarded as models for those who desired to overthrow the English reformation.

Other charges had to do with Scotland and with the subverting of Parliaments. His answer to the latter point makes the Archbishop's view of Parliament clear. He thinks there can be no true and settled happiness but by a fair and legal as well as national agreement between the king and his people. According to the course of England the agreement is in a great proportion founded upon Parliament. Parliaments are the best preserves of the ancient laws and rights of the kingdom. But he who thought that even General Councils could err was unlikely to admit that Parliaments were infallible. "Parliaments may sometimes be mistaken, as well as other Councils. Parliament was the cause of all the civil wars, and that great effusion of blood which followed soon after in the kingdom. God make us mindful and careful to prevent the like." He saw what was coming. He ended by pleading for a just and fair trial. For that, or the nearest approach that he was likely to get, he had to wait for years. It must have been obvious that any case against him would be very difficult to prove.

On March 1 Laud was committed to the Tower. Mid-day was chosen for the journey, because it was thought that the street would be empty at dinner time. But in Cheapside apprentices began to call out. From the Exchange onwards

the shouting was exceeding great. And so they followed me with clamour and revilings, even beyond barbarity itself; not giving over, till the coach was entered in at the Tower gate. . . . But I bless God for it, my patience was not moved: I looked upon a higher cause than the tongues of Shimei and his children.

He had prayed for patience; he knew it was a difficult virtue—especially for him—and that there would be sore temptations. But his prayers were answered; throughout the long imprisonment and subsequent trial he never gave occasion to the enemy to blaspheme.

Laud had always been in the habit of keeping a diary, though his entries had been rather intermittent. When, however, he is in the Tower, he employs his active mind during those years of weary confinement in recording with considerable fullness all that went on. He knew that his case was a *cause célèbre*, that the attempt to arraign the first subject of the king for high treason

would ring throughout the world. He never doubted that, somehow or other, the enemies who had got him in their grip would compass his death. He was only anxious that afterwards the truth should be known, and he possibly looked forward to a happier day, when men would be able, in a calmer mood, to consider the strength of the principles to which his death was to testify.

He could have escaped ; but always refused to follow the example of men like Finch and Windebank, who only cared about their skins. Flight would have been convenient to his foes, as it would have been construed as an acknowledgement of the truth of the charges. Besides, as he said, where can I fly to ? If he went to France, he would be a dangerous heretic, in Holland he would fall in with intolerant Calvinists.

Many efforts were made to get the Archbishop to incriminate himself. He had been deprived of most of the functions of his office. He still, apparently, had the right to present to benefices, though the right was more dangerous than useful. At every vacancy Laud received orders from Parliament to appoint a particular person. If he did not think him suitable he refused. So much duty made plain. But unfortunately the

king often contrived to get a message to him to make no appointment. So the poor man was between two fires. The king's thoughtless letters put his life in danger, but still Laud gave no opportunity to his foes.

Through the windows of Laud's prison we can watch the strange pageant of events outside. After the death of Strafford the libels against the Archbishop increased in number and if possible in venom. He sees that he will never get out again, and lays down in a pathetic letter the Chancellorship of his beloved University, for which he had done so much. His "ancient loving and faithful servant" Adam Thorless, who had managed all his affairs, dies, and leaves the Archbishop feeling more lonely than ever. At the end of 1641 he hears that Williams, who had curried favour with the powers that were, and contrived to get himself made Archbishop of York, is to be sent with eleven other bishops to the Tower for protesting against their being prevented from voting in the House of Lords. So Williams's ambition served him but little in the end.

The king goes to the House of Commons and attempts to arrest the "Five Members". "It seems they had information of the king's coming and were slipped aside." But they

are triumphantly brought back by the citizens of London, and the king thinks it wiser to leave his capital.

More and more Laud watches government by clamour take the place of government by intelligence, or even by discussion. A mob is brought into the House to compel unwilling members to agree to the bill which is at last passed—and submitted to by the king—for taking away the Bishops' votes. The queen becomes so alarmed that she flies to Holland to seek safety with her son-in-law, the Prince of Orange. When the king agrees to allow "the wisdom of Parliament" to determine the government and liturgy of the Church, Laud, who was familiar with this wisdom, is moved to pray "God bless the poor Church of England, for I very much fear this can bode no good". An old trouble with his leg came on him again, but in May 1642 Laud makes a shift "between my man and my staff to go to church". There he has the felicity to hear a Mr. Joslin preach from the text "Curse ye Meroz", with evident application to himself.

His personal abuse of me was so foul and palpable, that women and boys stood up in the church, to see how I could bear it. . . . But I humbly thank God for it, I bore his virulence patiently, and so it vanished. God forgive them.

He hears that episcopacy has, in obedience to the Scots' demands, been extirpated from England by the House of Commons "to the perfect reformation of religion". The library at Lambeth is seized, and the ordinance is prepared for turning the palace into a prison. Laud's wood and coal, which he would have been glad to have had in the Tower to keep his old bones warm, are seized by the soldiers.

The last indignity is reached when Prynne is sent to search the Archbishop's papers. Laud was in bed when he arrived, and woke up to see Prynne rifling his pockets. Prynne carries off twenty-one packets of papers, including the two letters that Charles had sent him, his diary and the book of *Private Devotions* that he had written with his own hand.

Nor could I get him to leave this last book; but he must needs see what passed between God and me; a thing, I think, scarce ever offered to any Christian. . . . I was somewhat troubled to see myself used in this manner, but knew no help but in God, and the patience which he had given me.

The diary was afterwards referred to in a sermon in the Tower as a thing which would discover great things. "This is zealous preaching," writes Laud, "God forgive their malice."

In September 1643 he hears that the Westminster Assembly, which was to set up uniformity of belief in opposition to the Laudian plan of uniformity of practice, had agreed, in S. Margaret's, Westminster, to the Solemn League and Covenant. The Scots commanded that the religion of England should conform to that of Scotland. The Parliament, in desperate need, was bound to obey its Northern deliverers. Laud makes the grim comment,

The effects which followed were as strict as the Covenant. Such freedom as the Tower allowed me was taken away. All the prisoners were locked up, and no man was suffered to speak with them.

Still his trial was delayed. But Prynne had spent many weeks searching into every cranny trying to work up a case. At last, in October 1643, "Mr. Prynne's malice had hammered out something". He had in fact produced a portentous book, fit companion to the *Histrion-mastix*. The Archbishop was deprived of his papers, though it was conceded that he should be allowed to have copies made—at his own expense!

My estate all taken from me, and my goods sold, before ever I came to hearing; and then I may take copies of my papers at my own charge.

At last the old man appears before the House of Lords to make his defence. He is watched with lynx-like eyes for an opportunity to create prejudice. But his enemies among the Lords were disappointed.

Some of the Lords confessed I had much deceived their expectations ; for they found me in a calm, but thought I would have been stormy. . . . But I praise God the giver, I am better acquainted with patience than they think I am.

But he went back again to the Tower, and the real trial did not begin till March 12, 1644.

All his hopes, as he said, lay wholly in the honour and justice of the Lords ; yet he is greatly disturbed to see so few Lords in that great House, usually not above eleven or twelve, and they did not stay all day. When he thinks of this, and the malice of Mr. Prynne, and the clamour that is set on outside, he is sorely tempted to throw up his defence. But his faith comes to his rescue. Trusting in God he addresses himself to rebutting all the charges made against him. The courage and vivacity and self-control of the old man are amazing. He had always been delicate in health, and had been in prison four years, and for the last year in close confinement. He was seventy years old, which in those days was a great age, and his life had been incredibly full

of exciting business. But the habit of a life-time was strong, and he found time and energy to record each day's proceedings, in spite of what he calls "my decayed memory".

He was accused by Serjeant Wilde, who conducted the prosecution, of "treason in the altitude". All the old ridiculous charges were raked up, Popery, superstition, profanation of the Sabbath, and even an endeavour to aspire to papal dignity, offers having been made to him that he should be a cardinal. His answer was dignified and just; it followed the line we should expect. The trial dragged its course drearily along. He was examined on twenty different days between March and July; and on twelve more he was kept waiting at Westminster, but was not heard.

Many of the charges were ridiculous; all were highly prejudiced. Laud's answers were irrefutable. Over and over again he was able to give a perfectly simple and natural explanation, and to shew how malice and ignorance had perverted truth. The thing that hurt Laud most was that Prynne had his diary printed, with vile comments of his own, and placed in the hands of the Lords. When he saw each of his judges with "a new thin book in folio in a blue coat", and learned what it was, he was troubled. "But after I

had gathered up myself, and looked up to God, I went on to the business of the day."

Two examples of the resilience of Laud's mind under the prolonged strain may be given. It was charged that copes were used in some of the Oxford Colleges, "and that a traveller should say upon the sight of them, that he saw just such a thing upon the Pope's back. This wise man might have said as much of a gown. He saw a gown on the Pope's back ; therefore a Protestant may not wear one : or entering into S. Paul's, he may cry, Down with it ; for I saw the Pope in just such another church in Rome."

His possession of the Roman service books was made a cause of offence to the minds who only read to feed their spleen, and not to fertilise their reason. Prynne says, " I had read the Mass-book diligently ".

How else [exclaims Laud] should I be able really to confute what is amiss with it. I had liturgies, all that I could get, both ancient and modern. I had also the *Alcoran* in divers copies. If this be an argument, why do they not accuse me to be a Turk ?

It was obvious that the trial, which had dragged on its weary way so many months, would produce no evidence that would make a condemnation possible, even in an attenu-

ated and prejudiced House of Lords. But the fierce preachers of predestination were determined to have Laud's blood. A petition of Londoners demanded that he should be killed ; and the Scottish Commissioners, who at that time had got the English Parliament in their grip, felt they could not return to their country without this particular trophy. They made the Archbishop's death a condition of their support.

So, since forms of law availed not, a similar course was pursued to that which had been taken in Strafford's case.

They resorted [says Clarendon] to their Legislative Power, and by their Ordinance of Parliament, as they called it, that is by a determination of those Members who sate in the Houses (whereof in the House of Peers there were not above twelve) they appointed him to be put to death as guilty of High Treason.

Laud made a moving speech, when on November 11 the tired old man was summoned to the bar of the House of Commons to hear his doom.

Mr. Speaker, I am very aged, considering the turmoils of my life, and I daily find in myself more decays than I make show of ; and the period of my life, in the course of nature, cannot be far off. . . . It cannot but be a great grief unto me, to stand at these years thus charged before ye. . . . Yet if

God bless me with so much memory, I will die with those words in my mouth, "That I never intended, much less endeavoured, the subversion of the laws of the kingdom; nor the bringing of the Popish superstition upon the true Protestant religion established by law in the kingdom."

Though the judges unanimously refused to express an opinion as to the charge of treason, and though the Lords who passed the Bill of Attainder shewed their consciousness of the exceptional character of the action they were terrified into performing, by saying that the case was to be no precedent, there was no human power left that could stand for justice. The king's pardon, which Laud pleaded, was worse than useless.

One concession was allowed to the chief bishop of the English Church. The penalty of hanging was altered to that of beheading. But the religious rancour of his foes pursued him to the grave; and he was refused the assistance of any divine of his own way of thinking, unless attended by "other godly reverend brethren".

On the fatal day (January 10) Laud carried himself with the composure that never deserted him during the long hours of his trial. On the scaffold he delivered a pregnant and deeply religious address which was to have a far-reaching influence in after days. It was a clear

and courageous defence of his position and a heart-felt prayer for all who had, whether by malice or ignorance, any share in bringing him to his death. Making his way through the people he came near the block, put off his doublet, and used some words to this effect, " God's will be done ; I am willing to go out of his world, none can be more willing to send me ". Having given a sign when the blow should come, he kneeled upon his knees, and prayed as follows :

Lord, I am coming as fast as I can ; I know I must pass through the shadow of death, before I can come to see Thee ; but it is but *umbra mortis*, a mere shadow of death, a little darkness upon nature ; but Thou by Thy merits and passion hast broke through the jaws of death. The Lord receive my soul, and have mercy upon me, and bless this kingdom with peace and plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effusion of Christian blood amongst them, for Jesus Christ His sake, if it be Thy will.

He was hardly dead before the reaction set in in favour of one who had shewn himself so fearless and so Christian. " Great multitudes of people whom love, or curiosity, or remorse of conscience had drawn together " followed his body to the grave. The Archbishop was buried in Allhallows Barking by the Tower, and the Church of England service was read

over him. It was a form which had long been disused, and it was a bold thing to use it. But no one dared to interfere. Men did not fail to notice afterwards that the Ordinance of Attainder passed the House of Lords on the same day (January 4, 1645) on which the Lords passed another ordinance that the Book of Common Prayer should be laid aside, and the Directory of Public Worship set in its place. The connection was noted and not forgotten.

EPILOGUE

THE difficulty of estimating the character and importance of Laud aright springs from the closeness with which his ecclesiastical ideal was intertwined with his political theories. He has often been wrongly judged, because he supported a system of government that later ages condemned. The nineteenth century was confident that Parliamentary government was the only true means of the world's salvation ; and those who thought otherwise were convicted not only of folly but of sin. To-day that happy confidence has departed. The weaknesses of the Parliamentary method are glaring and obvious. On the Continent of Europe the system that was copied from the English model has continually in recent years proved incapable of handling vital problems and great emergencies. Fear of offending ill-instructed electors has filled the minds of deputies, and made impossible the swift and drastic action that the state de-

manded. The war saw the supremacy of the deliberative assembly put on one side, and power concentrated in one person or a small group of persons. The efficiency that this method produced has caused more than one country to experiment in dictatorship since the Peace.

Other facts have emerged to fortify the criticism of Parliaments. In the countries where the possibility of a dictatorship is so remote as to be negligible, for example in England and the United States, its remoteness rests on the fact that the government, once elected, is all-powerful over both the Parliament and the country. The rule of the "Juncta" is in full force, and the private member has but little to say. In other words democracy is a success where an element of absoluteness gives resolution to the government. But even here suspicions are widely aroused. Does Parliament rule? Or does it provide the screen behind which "Big Business" can exercise its control? One thing is certain; though direct corruption has to all intents and purposes passed away, possessions, wealth, property are more important than the vote. This fact is the parent of Bolshevism. But Bolshevism itself is equally rooted in the principle that control of

the means of production constitutes the only legitimate claim to govern.

The system in which Laud believed was as remote from a dictatorship as from an ochlocracy. It was rooted in a spiritual, and not in a material, conception of the universe. The supporters of right divine thought from God downwards. We are only able to move within our own narrow circumference. They regarded human government as a function that man in infinite gradation shared with the ultimate purpose, which had brought humanity into existence, that it might fulfil eternal ends. We, in the main, regard it as a system for meeting man's more obvious needs, food, shelter, transit, and the distribution of the products of the earth. And it is just in relation to these things that government has to confess itself most helpless to meet the fierce criticism of those whose lot in the industrial order is a service that is very far from perfect freedom.

Laud was essentially practical. He believed in the theocratic principle — that government rested on function and intelligence, not on force. He looked for the readiest symbol of that ideal that came to hand, and found it in the crown. Most of us would count it a gain that Parliament was

able to assert its right to consideration side by side with the power of the crown. People must be consulted as to the ordering of their lives. But the need for something that represented the principle of authority was proved to a nation that permitted itself to be governed by Charles II. Laud's immediate principle was partially acknowledged.

But his ultimate principle gradually faded from the minds of men. Is not that part of our disease? Is there any cure, unless we can recover in some new shape the theocratic principle, the certainty that the earth is the Lord's and that His creatures are His stewards finding their true end not in the acquisition of possessions, but in the fulfilment of His will, in the use and exercise of reason, and obedience to conscience? Laud conceived of government as the expression and expansion of Christian civilisation, and saw in that belief the surest pledge that man would find his true freedom and his highest wealth. The Church to his mind was the great instrument of this Christian civilisation; and if that civilisation was to prosper, the Church must be placed in a position of strength in close alliance with the State. Its inspiration would only be effective, if it was itself efficiently embodied. It was no inglorious idea. It was the vision

that inspired much that was best in the Middle Ages, when, with whatever failings, the Church always regarded government as a human, and not merely as a legal or economic thing, and saw the promotion of art and of learning as part of its mission.

Granted that he was aiming at the impossible, that he was attempting to place the Church in a position that inevitably obscured her pastoral aspect, her primary commerce with the soul, we may yet be grateful to him for two things. He saved for England the conception that the Church had a Divine and not a Parliamentary origin, and he preserved by his life, and still more by his death, the new possibility recovered by the Renaissance—the possibility of a Catholicism that was at once supernatural and free, confident and reticent, that drew its inspiration and resources from the One Church of Jesus Christ, and yet was able to speak to the people of England in the language in which they were born.

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